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FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

ROSA AND HER SUITORS.

A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

BY EMILIE F. CARLEN,

Author of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Omberg," &c., &c.

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE.

CHAP. X.

The Mysterious Package—The Surprise.

Christmas day was ushered in by a severe snow storm; and as there was no company at Mr. Widen's house, and the family themselves had no engagement, the general discomfort was still more augmented by the wretched weather. Everybody seemed weary, and yawned unmercifully. The Captain had dined with one of his superior officers, and was to remain there until evening, and the family were quite alone.

The Merchant was playing patience, and inclined to quarrel with the cards, because they would not go right, notwithstanding all the ingenuity he showed in turning one, every individual card, and canvassing its possible significance. His wife was turning over the leaves of a magazine of arts, fashions, and novelties. Rosa was practicing a favorite air at the piano. The boys were playing at a side-table. And the girls were dressing their dolls.

Suddenly, a slight scraping of feet was heard in the passage—Rosa suddenly stopped playing, and her heart began to beat with an impetuosity that rendered any attempt at singing out of the question, for it quite took away her breath. One, two, three, eternal seconds, which were utterly unmarked by the other members of the party, seemed to her to creep by with deadly tedium. At length the door opened, and Mannerstedt's tall figure appeared, a welcome relief to the tiresome monotony.

"Dear me, for Heaven's sake," cried Madame Widen, tossing her book to the other end of the sofa, "is that you, Mr. Mannerstedt? You come exactly at the right moment; we have no company this evening, and you are most heartily welcome. But, good heavens, Mr. Mannerstedt, how could you venture out under the circumstances, when you were in bed with fever this very morning?"

Mannerstedt bowed deeply, and replied—

"Certainly, I did not feel very well, but it was the mind chiefly that suffered; and I was very anxious to thank you for the great kindness you have shown me in my sorrow."

"You really must not mention that, my dear Mannerstedt," replied Madame; "we lamented your sad loss, with all our hearts; but such is the common course of this life, and we must make the best of it; for when once a thing has occurred, I say, and always shall say, mourning about it answers no purpose."

Mannerstedt bowed silently, in answer to these very superficial arguments of consolation, and turned to pay his respects to Mr. Widen, who merely looked up for an instant from his cards, with a kindly nod, and said—

"Very sorry, very sorry for you, indeed, Mr. Mannerstedt; but pray excuse me, for I am just now so completely taken up with my cards, that you must amuse yourself with the ladies; I am sure they will be quite glad of your company."

Thus saying, he resumed his cards, to which he devoted his exclusive attention; and Frank now had to speak to Rosa.

His unexpected arrival, which she had not even ventured to hope for, had driven the warm blood to her beautiful cheeks; but, happily, during her mother's lengthy address, she had sufficient time to collect herself; and when Mannerstedt, pale and depressed, with deep and silent sadness in his dark glance, approached, she gave him her hand, saying, in a low voice—

"I assure you, dear Mr. Mannerstedt, that I sympathize with your sorrow, from the bottom of my heart. I well know how dearly you loved the departed, and I therefore also know how you must mourn her loss; but your mind is strong, and I hope and trust that you will keep your fortitude, and not give way, after sorrow has received its first and natural tribute."

In Rosa's voice lay a far deeper and warmer sympathy than in the words themselves, which penetrated Frank's heart; and he ventured to retain her hand for an instant in his own, as he replied—

"Oh, no, dear, kind Rosa; be assured, that however difficult the struggle may be, I will not fail to overcome it."

"Eh, eh, Rosa, dear, what are you thinking of?" cried her mother, who could not exactly hear what they were saying, but had an idea that there was a little too much sensibility going on; "you should not speak of Mr. Mannerstedt's sorrows; they are painful enough. Come here, my dear Mr. Mannerstedt, and sit down by me; I have some better comfort to offer. An unknown friend of yours sent a packet here on Christmas eve, and I kept it to give to you myself. Caroline, my love, put your doll down, go into my cabinet, and bring that large parcel which is lying on the table."

Caroline's reluctant fingers, after a twice-repeated "make haste, my darling," laid aside the dear doll, and in a few seconds returned with the packet.

"Thank you, dear Caroline," said mamma, kissing the child's forehead. "Is not she a dear child—and so obedient, too?" added she, to Mr. Mannerstedt.

"Oh, yes, very pretty and charming," replied Frank, and hoped to be rid of the subject; the lady, however, continued, "I have just been thinking that we might commence with Caroline's singing. She should learn the notes in good tune, for has she not a beautiful voice—so soft and sweet, and full of tone?"

Now, if Mr. Mannerstedt had answered "yes" to this question, he would have infringed upon the truth, which was always sacred to him, and he therefore answered cautiously, saying it were hardly possible to judge of so young a child with any certainty.

Madame Widen let the subject drop, as she saw he was disinclined to pursue it, and said to him, "We can discuss this hereafter; but pray see what your parcel contains."

To say the truth, Frank would much rather have waited until he had returned to his own lonely chamber; but this would have seriously annoyed Madame Widen, and Mannerstedt felt that he could not be ungrateful, after receiving so many marks of her favor and kindness. While he was engrossed with his reflections upon this critical state of affairs, and thoughtfully turning and twisting the parcel about in his hands, the lady called to her youngest daughter—

"Josephine, bring me the scissors you are using."

The little love was a miracle of obedience; she came in an instant. Madame took the scissors, and saying "there," with a rapid movement of her own noble fingers the string flew asunder, and of course Mannerstedt, as in duty bound, said—

"I am exceedingly obliged to you, Madame."

The parcel was opened, and a black suit of clothes, of the utmost fineness and most fashionable cut, was displayed to his view. As Mrs. Widen hastily took out the clothes, to convince herself that they were complete in all respects, which, to her satisfaction, she found to be the case, a folded paper fell out, upon which was written, "Accept this from a friend to industry and honorable exertion."

In the paper were also a couple of bank notes, each of fifty dollars.

Mannerstedt stood there, with the note in his hand; he was silent; a tear of gratitude glittered in his eye—and we say no more than the strictest truth, when we assure our readers that the conviction that there was a human being of such disinterested and generous feelings to be found in the world, and that he had been so fortunate as to attract the attention of such a person to himself, filled Frank's head with more joyous and happier sensations than the possession of the presents.

"Widen, my love—Rosa, dear—Heavens, our poor Mannerstedt has reason for rejoicing; these clothes—look, look—only look;" and the lady held the suit aloft, took the bank notes from Mannerstedt's hand, and displayed them to her husband.

Yet all this, though anything but proper, had such a look of good will and kindness, though it was after Madame Widen's own way, that Frank allowed it to pass without opposition. Rosa seemed to look only at the writing.

"What do you think, my angel?" asked her mother. "Do you know the hand? Oh, I should so like to find out who it came from. Have you ever seen the hand before, Rosa, dear?"

"No—I cannot recollect it just this instant," replied she, slowly; but Mannerstedt, whose eye had followed her movements, fancied he could discover that she only avoided speaking her thoughts, in order not to expose the giver.

"Well, be it who it may," said Madame Widen, "the cloth is charming;" to assure herself of its fineness, she rubbed it with her finger with the air of a judge; "yes, quite fine—at least twelve rix-dollars the yard."

"And such an enclosure, too," said the Merchant; "upon my word, you have reason to thank your good fortune."

When the party had finished tea, the Merchant went to his own room to read the papers. The children assembled around their Christmas tree, which had now been placed in their maid's room; and, after Madame Widen had strove in vain to engage Mannerstedt in conversation, she arose, and went to pay a visit to her housekeeper, Dame Bern—she had a few orders to give for the morrow—but her real object was to impart to her confidentially the contents of the packet which Mannerstedt had received, and to ascertain whether she could find out the giver.

Dame Bern's apartment was simple and neat. She was sitting on a little old-fashioned sofa—a piece of furniture which, on account of its comfortable qualities, she had taken from among the lumber of the garret. Before the sofa was a small square table, and upon this were spread the many-colored cards, for the old lady's favorite game of "*patience*," or fortune telling. Besides these, the table contained her coffee cup, snuff box, her little musk-box in the shape of a heart, (a relic of the year 1768,) her book of devotion, a psalter, and her pocket handkerchief.

Her mistress, who in certain cases was very condescending, took a chair opposite to her, and, after she had told Dame Bern the whole matter, and the latter had promised to do her best to throw light upon the subject by the following evening, Madame Widen added—

"Do just take one look, Dame Bern, and see what the cards portend for our house. I have, as usual, the diamond; give Rosa the heart; and, for the fun of the thing, let Mr. Mannerstedt have the club."

Dame Bern pushed aside her coffee cup, took a pinch of snuff, and then handed the box to her mistress. The moment was silent, earnest, and full of import; the great diamond and all his court were laid out; the prophetess took another pinch of snuff, and "hemmed;" Madame Widen said—

"Well?"

"Well, look, Madame," Dame Bern commenced. "It is exactly as it has been several times this winter. A terrible to-do in the house—entertainments and strangers without end, and all appears to originate from a fair-complexioned, and, as it appears, elderly gentleman. It is very clear, too, that there is not a sign of a wedding upon the cards in this case, for the Captain is young, and dark; besides, it does not look a bit like a wedding, for all I can see and judge; alas! it rather seems as if some great sorrow would follow all this bustle. Miss Rosa is upon the cards, light and happy; but, good Heavens, how black the Captain is looking! What can all this mean? Aye, aye; I say nothing—nothing at all—but—it is very singular—but nothing regarding him and our young lady will agree. The fair gentleman—it is silly to talk of such a thing—but it does look as if he is interfering—but what seems very clear, at any rate, is, that there will be no wedding here, in this house, so very soon, after all."

The lady seemed to find no great satisfaction in what Dame Bern had told her. She sighed deeply, but nevertheless kept her seat, as if fettered by the mystical captivation of the noble science.

"For Mr. Mannerstedt," resumed Dame Bern, "there is upon the cards some great, yet still distant, good fortune. Look here!" and she again began to count, "after sorrow come sunny days. Truly, now, the dear boy's fortune is here, bright and peaceful; but he must wander over many a long and weary path, ere he shall attain the end. And now I'll pack and shuffle the cards again, and see if they give anything better next time."

In the mean time, Frank and Rosa had been left alone in the front apartment. Each sat some moments in silence. At length Frank commenced—

"May I venture upon the liberty of asking if Miss Widen is acquainted with the hand which wrote those lines?" He extended the paper towards her.

"Yes! I know them well," answered Rosa, "and to you only will I intrust the name of the noble writer. It is the hand of Professor Ling. When I was in his study, a few day ago, I saw his handwriting, and observed it so exactly that I cannot mistake it."

"Oh, is it possible," cried Frank, with joyful emotion, "that the old sage has been pleased to bestow some attention upon me? Do you think that he would take it ill, if I were to offer him my heartfelt thanks?"

"I hardly know how to advise you; but the circumstance of his having addressed the packet himself, leaves room for the presumption that he did not intend to preclude all possibility of discovering the donor's name; and, therefore, I think that perhaps it might be the best way to act."

"Then I will do so," rejoined Frank, warmly. "Let him take it as he will, I shall have done my duty. Should he be formal and cold, I shall cut my visit short. Oh, I trust I shall find the right tone, please God. At any rate, I must make the trial."

After Mannerstedt had concluded, Rosa went to the piano, opened a little drawer, and took out a packet, at the appearance of which, Frank was sensible of an emotion of quite a different nature from that which he experienced on receiving the first.

"It is such a perfect trifle," said Rosa, as she offered it to him, "but I worked every stitch of it myself."

Hurriedly, and with glowing cheeks and beaming eyes, Mannerstedt took the packet, and pressed the portfolio, which we have previously seen in Rosa's hands, to his lips. The contents were now exposed. Mannerstedt regarded the embroidery on one side, and his heart glowed with delight as his eye fell upon the work. The embroidery represented the moment when he restrained the horse, whilst Rosa was springing from the carriage.

Frank did not venture at this moment to look the fair giver in the face. He turned the portfolio, and, upon the dark ground, there was but the simple word, "Gratitude."

"Oh, Rosa," he faltered, and his eyes sought her own, "gratitude, gratitude! and to me, who have you alone to thank, to bless, for the few light and happy hours which I have here enjoyed—aye, for the very sweetest moments of my existence; and this existence itself," added he, taking Rosa's hand, "would I gladly give for this moment. Oh, Rosa, that you should wish to afford me a moment of such inexpressible happiness!"

"Why, dear Mr. Mannerstedt, should I not wish to do so," replied she, withdrawing her hand, gently, "when so little can make you happy? You may ever rely upon my sympathy and kindly feelings for you."

"What can I desire more?" said Frank, and, in spite of the happiness with which his heart was filled, a sigh escaped his lips.

"I have never ventured to hope so much. Oh, to possess in you a friend, alone as I am on the earth, is much—much; and my soul is filled with the purest gratitude for this happiness."

He ceased speaking. Rosa, too, was silent. Her sensations were too powerful to be expressed in the only language which she felt sensible she could rightly use; and it was fortunate that, at this moment, a couple of the children came dancing in, to beg from Rosa a decision in regard to a little dispute which had arisen between them. Shortly afterwards, Madame Widen returned; and it was easy to see, in her radiant countenance, that the cards had become propitious, or that Dame Bern, out of commiseration for her chagrin, had made it appear so, and changed sadness into joy. She gave directions, however, to have supper served as soon as possible, in order to bring the tedious day to an end.

When Mannerstedt had gone home, and papa, mamma, and the little brothers and sisters, had betaken themselves to their sleeping rooms, Rosa seated herself at the piano, as she did not wish to go to rest before her usual hour; but before her fingers had touched the keys, she caught sight of a folded paper. Her heart beat as she opened it. It contained the music and songs which Frank had promised her; but, too timid to give them to her himself, he had, before his departure, concealed them in a place where he knew she would quickly find them. Rosa, with joy, recognised the beautiful, soul-stirring melody, which Mannerstedt had composed from the rich sentiments of his own heart. She immediately practiced it; and how inexpressible was the pleasure she derived from it! 'Twas long past midnight, ere she closed the piano. Arising, she retired to her chamber, taking the songs with her, that she might read the words over once more before she slept.

On the following day, as the family were seated at the dinner table, and the Captain as well as Mannerstedt were present, the former said to Madame Widen—

"My dear aunt, do help me persuade Rosa to go to the ball this evening. I shall be in despair, if she will not grant my wish."

"Will Rosa not go to the ball, then?" asked her mother, rather astonished. "What little bit of obstinacy is this? You are quite well, child, and, in that case, a young girl must find pleasure and amusement on such occasions, unless she wishes to make herself a particular exception to the general rule."

"I certainly do not wish that," replied Rosa; "but I have had a severe tooth-ache all day, and the pain would only be doubled if I had to put on such thin clothes as are requisite for a ball; and dancing would be intolerable to me."

"Toothache!" said her mother, turning up her nose. "Had you said headache, I should have readily believed you, for you were playing and flourishing away upon the piano all night. I only know I could not sleep, and heartily wished that the fit might not take you very often, for in that case we must lock up the piano."

Madame Widen was evidently very angry, as this was one of the few real cases in which Rosa ever had to receive a reproof. She sat there quite silently, with downcast eyes, while a glowing blush suffused her cheeks, even to her very temples.

At the first words which Madame Widen had spoken about the piano, and extemporizing, Mannerstedt's and Rosa's eyes sought each other. In his, glowed a fire unusual and animated, and a violent flush overspread his face, as he saw how Rosa, with every sign of deep and true emotion, hurriedly cast down her eyes, instead of, as previously, freely and kindly meeting his own. Fortunately he was not observed—all eyes were directed upon Rosa, whose glowing cheeks were ascribed to her mother's unusual severity.

At last, the Merchant, with patriarchal dignity, raised his voice.

"Dear Brigitta Marie, you are too severe; you have forgotten in your younger days you had your little caprices, too—all girls have, you know—and Rosa's tooth-ache may go away by evening. Do not you think yourself, my child, that papa is right? Tell me, love."

"I do not know, dear papa; but should I feel better, I shall gladly show I am not self-willed or obstinate."

"Good, very good," said her father. "Now, that is right. She'll come round. I know that my little Rosa will be reasonable."

All now arose, and adjourned to the coffee table, in the drawing-room. Ferdinand seated himself beside Rosa, and appeared to have resolved not to rest until she had promised him to go to the ball. The Merchant and his wife soon withdrew, to take their usual nap. Mannerstedt, feeling disinclined to join the children in their play, as he had often done, was unwilling to remain a witness of the Captain's happiness; and, taking his leave, he hastened to seek the solitude of his own little chamber—his kingdom. Here, undisturbed, he could give way to the dreams, hopes, and fears, which again filled his bosom.

Rosa had not dared to ask him to remain; and Captain Ferdinand was delighted, at length, to be left alone with Rosa.

"I am really very sorry," he began, as soon as Frank had taken his leave, "I most sincerely regret, dear Rosa, that I have been the cause of your mother's reproof. Can you forgive me?"

"Most gladly," she replied, "though I wish you had been satisfied with my refusal. I desired to make a proposal to you, instead of going to the ball, to pay a visit with me, which I ought to have made long ago."

"Where, my dear Rosa?" asked the Captain.

"To your aunt, Mrs. Borgenskold; "your cousin Hilda is a very charming and accomplished girl, and I mean to become better acquainted with her."

Captain Ling passed his handkerchief over his face with great energy, and coughed—but said, in a perfectly indifferent tone—

"To Aunt Borgenskold, my dear? She and the Professor do not live on the best possible terms—indeed, they are not upon any terms—therefore, I hardly know if it would be quite proper."

"Proper," repeated Rosa; "I cannot look upon it in any other light. Your cousin and I may surely make acquaintance, even if her father and your uncle are not friendly; and it would be very wrong in us to give the Professor credit for being likely to disapprove such an innocent proceeding. I am very anxious to meet Hilda; I think I have heard you used to visit her mother frequently!"

"Yes, formerly," replied the Captain, not without emotion; "formerly it was the case, but it is so no longer; and if you insist upon going there, Rosa, you must excuse me, for I cannot accompany you."

"I really do not know how I can excuse you," returned Rosa; "it is only a little bit of self-will in you, my dear Ferdinand, and that is not becoming in a gentleman."

"It is no self-will, my good Rosa," assumed Ferdinand, who saw himself obliged to be frank, in order to escape. "It is not self-will; but certain relations, which are too tender to touch upon, make it my duty to refrain from visiting there for the present."

Rosa looked at him with astonishment and surprise. "If such is the case, my dear Ferdinand, I will no longer urge it upon you. But I see nothing to prevent my seeking to obtain Hilda's friendship; and so pray forgive me, if I visit her this evening, instead of going to the ball."

"But, why," objected the Captain, "why just this evening? Will you not pay the least regard to my entreaties?"

"My dear, good Ferdinand," said Rosa, giving him her hand with an air of kindness, "you must not be angry with me, promise now. I really am not in a fit mood to enjoy a ball this evening."

The Captain kissed her hand, and arose. "Well, then," said he, "I will hope and trust that, for the future, we shall find our wishes more in harmony; but since I cannot persuade you, I must be off, for the Town Hall requires my attention."

He bowed slightly, and left her.

Rosa looked anxiously after him, and sighed. "I doubt whether that time will ever come; for I am every day more and more convinced that our characters are entirely different. I will, however, do all in my power to gain his esteem, as I am to be his wife; and if I am successful, then I will hope that, with time and caution, our inclinations may harmonize. Oh, Mannerstedt," her lips murmured, scarce audibly, as she leaned her burning cheek upon her hand, "can I dance while thy soul is so weighed down with sorrow? No—oh, no; that would have been too much—it would have exceeded my utmost strength."

Rosa would not suffer her thoughts to linger upon the subject, and she strove with all her energy to tear herself away from this all-powerful feeling.

"My visit," exclaimed she, quickly, springing up; her toilette was made in all haste; and soon afterwards Rosa entered Mrs. Borgenskold's apartment, with which we are already acquainted. The old lady rose quickly from her chair on Rosa's entrance, and welcomed her with every mark of pleasure.

Hilda laid down her guitar, and remained at a little distance, until her mother's compliments were at an end; she then offered her pretty lips to Rosa's sisterly kiss, and bade her welcome.

Rosa soon became quite at home. Hilda's mother prepared tea, and Hilda displayed to Rosa her works, and detailed all her hopes.

Rosa listened to all with pleasure, and wished Hilda joy in all her undertakings; the two girls spent a most agreeable evening together, and both promised to visit each other frequently. Ferdinand was not even mentioned—they both felt that this topic was contraband.

For the National Era.

COMETH A BLESSING DOWN.

BY MARY FRANCES TYLER.

Not to the man of dollars,
Not to the man of deeds,
Not to the man of cunning,
Not to the man of creeds;
Not to the one whose passion
Is for a world's renown,
Not in a form of fashion,
Cometh a blessing down.

Not unto land's expansion,
Not to the miser's chest,
Not to the princely mansion,
Not to the blazoned crest,
Not to the sordid worldling,
Not to the knavish clown,
Not to the haughty tyrant,
Cometh a blessing down.

Not to the folly blinded,
Not to the steeped in shame,
Not to the carnal-minded,
Not to unholy fame;
Not in neglect of duty,
Not in the monarch's crown,
Not at the smile of beauty,
Cometh a blessing down.

But to the one whose spirit
Yearns for the great and good;
Unto the one whose storehouse
Yieldeth the hungry food;
Unto the one who labors,
Fearless of foe or frown;
Unto the kindly-hearted,
Cometh a blessing down.

For the National Era.

Sketch of the Political History of Europe,

FROM

THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS, IN 1814,

TILL

THE PRESENT TIME.

BY A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

CHAPTER XXIV.

During the terrible night that followed upon the overthrow of the throne of Louis Philippe, M. Lamartine was the guardian angel of France, which, but for his sublime heroism and devotion, would have become the theatre of anarchy and intestine warfare. Fain would I have seen his noble countenance glowing with patriotic ardor and self-sacrificing courage, while his matchless eloquence bridled the fury of the populace thirsting for blood and spoils, and while, by the power of his words alone, he protected his colleagues, and averted from his beloved country the renewal of the terrors of the revolution of 1789.

The members of the Provisional Government, though they had safely reached *l'Hotel de Ville*, were nevertheless at the mercy of the infuriated mob, that, besieging the unprotected edifice, were bent upon the renewal of the *Reign of Terror*. All of them behaved with admirable courage, but the glory of saving France from the terrible dangers then threatening her, belonged chiefly to M. de Lamartine. Never has moral power in a more manifest manner vindicated its supremacy over brutal force, than it did then. Never has eloquence achieved a more brilliant victory than it did during that night, when it kept at bay the immense crowd of furies, whom Hell seemed to have let loose for the purpose of destroying the beautiful Capital of European civilization. The present generation of Frenchmen may treat the glorious saviour of France with ingratitude, but the name of Alphonse de Lamartine will go down, surrounded with imperishable halo, to the remotest posterity.

In the midst of all the terrors surrounding them, the members of the Provisional Government distributed among themselves the functions which they were respectively to perform, appointing, at the same time, the ministers that were to aid them in the discharge of their difficult duties.

M. Dupont de l'Eure was made President of the Provisional Government, though this function, on account of the age of this venerable patriarch of freedom, devolved in reality upon M. de Lamartine.

M. de Lamartine was made Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior; M. Cremieux, Minister of Justice; M. Marie, Minister of Public Works; M. Arago, Minister of the Navy; General Subervie, Minister of War; M. Goudschaux- (an esteemed banker,) Minister of the Treasury; M. Carnet, Minister of Instruction.

As Secretaries, were appointed: MM. Marrot, Flacon, Paynene, Louis Blanc, and Barthelemy St. Hilaire.

M. Garnier Pagés assumed the administration of the city affairs.

M. de Courtais, an officer of the old royal army, was made Commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris.

During the night in question, an attempt was made to force the Provisional Government to adopt the *Red Flag*, which the Anarchists had hoisted as a token of a deadly war against the established social order of things. But this attempt was frustrated, chiefly by the heroic resistance of M. de Lamartine, who exclaimed; "I shall resist until death this bloody banner," (*Je repousserai jusqu' à la mort ce drapeau de sang;*) telling, at the same time, the populace that surrounded him, that this banner had in 1791 and 1793 been soiled in the blood of the French people, while, on the contrary, the tricolored flag had made the tour throughout the globe, as a token of the glory and liberty of France.

M. Lamartine proposed the abrogation of the punishment of death; Louis Blanc seconded this resolution, which was adopted by the Provisional Government.

M. Garnier Pagés, Mayor of Paris, re-established, at last, order in *l'Hotel de Ville;* while M. Ledru Rollin, assisted by M. Considiere, appointed Prefect of the Police, took prompt measures for the safety of the city.

But it was not until the sixth day that M. Lamartine deemed it prudent to leave *l'Hotel de Ville*, in order to take possession of the palace of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had, however, already, on the 27th of February, appointed M. Bastide his Assistant Secretary, who, consequently, had meanwhile taken charge of the palace, which M. de Lamartine found occupied by detachments of the National Guard, and by armed volunteers, who were ready to defend it against any surprise that might possibly have been attempted by the enemies of order. The political situation of Europe, and the mutual relations between France and the other European Powers, attracted immediately his attention. Convinced that genuine Republican freedom would most likely be established in France by the maintenance of peace, he took the firm resolution to avoid everything that might be the cause of provoking a war between the new Republic and the monarchical States of Europe. Still, he was well aware that the course which it was his intention to pursue would meet with the condemnation of all those who wished to make France the instrument of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, and in propagating the principles of Democracy by dint of its arms. But, mindful of the events of the first French revolution, he feared that such a policy would provoke, first, disorder, and then despotism, within France itself; while hoping that, by resisting the partisans of violence, and by maintaining peace, he would secure to the French nation the blessings of truly democratic institutions. The motives that actuated him in braving the displeasure of the Red Republicans were noble and praiseworthy; and to him does *not* belong the blame that the glorious object which he had in view was not obtained. Still, it might be questionable whether he would not have acted more prudently in concealing his peaceful sentiments. But it ought not to be forgotten, that he did not neglect, as we shall elsewhere show, to prepare means for aiding the Italians, should they have requested the assistance of France, in vindicating their national independence, and in enfranchising themselves from foreign and domestic despotism.

Already, before the outbreak of the French revolution, several States of Italy were subject to political agitations. Indeed, the Pope (Pius IX) himself had, by his words and deeds, awakened the spirit of independency, and the hatred against Austria, in the breasts of the people of central and northern Italy; while a revolution had taken place within the kingdom of Naples, anterior to that in France. But the rising of the Parisians soon spread the revolutionary fire over all Italy, and throughout the whole of Germany, too.

The people of Tuscany, though governed by a Prince of liberal principles, who had awarded to them a high degree of freedom, comparatively speaking, nevertheless took up arms, in order to force him to acknowledge their actual liberty as a *right*, and to submit to constitutional limits prescribed by themselves. The charge of ingratitude, which has been made against them, seems scarcely justifiable, while it must admitted that they acted imprudently.

Venice and Genoa did not remain indifferent for the name of Republic, which reminded them of their ancient glories, and the liberty which they had enjoyed while graced with a republican form of Government.

Heroic Piedmont, panting long for internal freedom, stood prepared to fight in behalf of Italian independency, against Austria. Its brave but vacillating King was actuated by the ambition of acquiring, at one and the same time, the two titles of *Liberator* and *Protector* of Italy. But the influence of the clergy, and his own love of power, had made him an enemy to liberal ideas, and a persecutor and oppressor of the friends of free institutions. Hence his fluctuation for many years between a cordial alliance with Austria, as a support against his own subjects, or an open defiance of that Power, and a closer union with France, and, consequently, adoption of more liberal views relative to the government of his own kingdom. It seemed, therefore, rather uncertain whether, on the establishment of the Republic in France, he would unite with Austria in suppression of the revolutionary movements that were anticipated to follow upon that event in Italy, or whether he would employ his army of one hundred thousand soldiers in the cause of Italian independence. The sentiments of praiseworthy patriotism and of noble ambition conquered at last his desire for the exercise of despotic power; and, appointing a new Cabinet, composed of acknowledged friends of freedom, he turned, unexpectedly, his arms against Austria.

But the effect of the French revolution was still more promptly felt in Germany.

Already, on the 3d of March, the King of Wurtemburg deemed it advisable to abolish the *censure*, admitting the liberty of the press and the arming of the people.

On the 4th of March, the Grand Duke of Baden was induced to make the same concessions, to abolish the remaining feudal privileges, and to approve of the election of members for the German Parliament, which was to be composed of deputies from all the German States, and which, it was intended, should adopt the proper measures for bringing about a thorough union of all Germany.

On the 5th of March, the King of Bavaria abdicated—a contest having previously taken place between the troops and the people of Munich, his capital. His successor embraced, seemingly at least, the popular cause.

The abdication of the Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, and the arming of the people of that dukedom, followed soon afterwards; and already, before the 11th of March, had even the Elector of Hesse Cassel—who was very hostile to the introduction of free institutions—found himself compelled to grant the demands of his subjects.

On the 14th of March, the inhabitants of Vienna, carried along by the impulse which was felt throughout the whole of Germany, rose against the despotic rule of Prince Menternich, who saved himself by a timely flight, and forced their imbecile but good-natured ruler to accede to their demands of a liberal constitution.

On the 15th of March, a revolutionary movement in Leipsic forced the King of Saxony, whose power was already limited by a rather free constitution, to authorize the election of members for the new German Parliament, and to grant certain required reforms.

On the same day, the inhabitants of Oldenburg compelled their Duke to convoke the representatives of the people.

A few days later, the people of Mecklenburg forced their Dukes to submit to their demands.

In the so-called free cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, popular movements, directed against the encroachments of the moneyed aristocracy, broke out, having for its purpose the introduction of democratic institutions.

On the 18th of March, the people of Berlin took up arms, for the avowed object of limiting the royal power, and of obtaining the constitution which had so often been promised, but never awarded, to Prussia. But the first day's contest ended in favor of the King. Still, that prince deemed it prudent, on the following day, to feign submission to the popular will, restoring to liberty the Poles who, as a punishment for their participation in the revolutionary movement in Posen, in 1846, had since been imprisoned in the moabit prison.

On the 20th of March, the democrats, headed by the Poles, were in fact masters of Berlin and the fate of the King. But their triumph was but of short duration—their views not meeting with the sympathy of the army.

On the same day, the inhabitants of Milan, the capital of Lombardy, took up arms, chasing away the Austrian garrison.

A few days later, a new revolutionary movement took place in Vienna—the Poles who resided in that city, and the students, wishing to bring about the proclamation of the Republic. But though this attempt did not succeed, the constitution which the Emperor had, on the 16th, granted, was declared void, and a Constitutional Assembly ordered to be convoked—the members of which were to be elected by universal suffrage. Now, the imperial family fled for safety to Tyrol.

The Bohemians had, meanwhile, obtained a federal constitution.

But Venice, impatient of foreign dominion, rose against its Austrian masters, and proclaimed its independency.

In the beginning of April, the people in the Duchies of Parma and Modena rose in arms, adopting the Provisional Republican forms of Government, while waiting for the result of the struggle which the King of Sardinia had begun in behalf of Italian independency.

These were the immediate effects of the French revolution. No wonder that the sanguine friends of freedom everywhere hoped and predicted the general enfranchisement of the German and Italian nations from despotism. But political wisdom is only to count by the accurate study of history or by experience. Besides, we are easily induced to believe in the realization of the hopes which we cherish; and how natural was it for the warm-hearted friends of freedom to hope for the deliverance of the oppressed nations of Europe from bondage!

Berlin, Prussia.

For the National Era.

DAISIES.

BY MARY CLEMMER AMES.

The humble little daisy flower,
The one I love so well,
It hideth not itself away
In any shadowy dell.

Where shining fields of ripened grain
Shimmer their golden plumes,
The daisy waves its censer bells,
And sheds its faint perfumes.

Where'er the amorous clover blooms,
And blushes in the light,
Against its cheek the daisy leans
Her forehead pure and white.

It springeth in the poor man's yard,
And gems its mossy floor;
All summer long its pleasant eyes
Look in his open door.

Not one of all the gorgeous flowers,
Whose beauties rare allure,
Are beauteous as this little flower,
This blossom of the poor.

O, nothing gives me more of joy
Than when I look away,
O'er waving meadows, daisy-starred,
Upon a summer's day!

They 'mind me of a grassy field,
Where, when a little child,
With merry sisters, after flowers,
I used to wander wild.

Half buried in the swaying grass,
How rich was our delight,
When buttercups and clovers pink
We wove with daisies white!

But now that dear, old, grassy field
Is crossed by many a street;
Where buttercups and daisies bloomed,
Rush hosts of hurrying feet.

Where all the day the sunshine fell
In floods of liquid gold,
Now down through dark and gloomy walls
It struggles faint and cold.

My heart is like that olden field,
Once filled with light and bloom,
Now crossed by human griefs and fears,
Which shadow it with gloom.

Scorched by Ambition's breath of flame,
Crushed by the grasp of Pride,
The sweet wild flowers of life's young bloom,
Many of them have died.

And yet how steals the sunshine in,
As I look far away,
O'er rippling meadows, daisy-starred,
On this bright summer's day.

I fear I should forget the joys
Which still my portion be,
If thou, O God, through wayside flowers
No more should speak to me!

Knowlesville, New York.

THE CONTEST IN OHIO—THE POSITION OF MR. CHASE.

During the late canvass in Ohio, Mr. Chase was assailed with peculiar ferocity, all sorts of lying accusations being brought against him. Some of his remarks, reported briefly by telegraph, gave a very imperfect idea of his true position. From a pamphlet copy of his speech, delivered at the Republican Mass Meeting in Cincinnati, Aug. 21st, we make certain extracts, so that his own position and the general character of the contest which has just terminated, may be clearly understood.

ABOLITIONISM.

And now let me say a few words about Abolitionism—that word of terror, by repeating which, in every variety of intonation, our opponents hope to scare full-grown men.

I shall not undertake to define Abolitionism, or to describe an Abolitionist. But I will tell you frankly what my position is now, and ever has been, in relation to Slavery.

It is that of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin; it is that of the founders of the Republic.

The great men who framed our Constitution conferred on Congress no power to institute or maintain Slavery by national legislation; nor did they confer on Congress any power to interfere by national legislation with Slavery in the States.

At the time of the promulgation of the Constitution, Slavery was allowed in most of the States by State Constitutions, and regulated by State laws—but there was not a foot of national territory in which a slave could be held, unless in violation of positive law. At that time, there was no national territory, except that northwest of the Ohio, and in that Territory, by the Jefferson Proviso, incorporated into the Ordinance of 1787, and by the unanimous consent of all the States in the Congress of the Confederation, Slavery had been forever prohibited. Our National Government, therefore, went into operation upon the principle of NO SLAVERY OUTSIDE OF SLAVE STATES—upon the principle that SLAVERY IS LOCAL, NOT NATIONAL.

At that time, also, there were seven free States in the Union—not, it is true, of States in which Slavery had been absolutely abolished, but of States in which the ultimate extinction of Slavery was certain, and the State policy was on the side of Freedom. The number of slave States was only six, and in some of them it was confidently expected that provision would soon be made by law for the eradication of Slavery.

Then, there was a majority of free States in the Union at the outset of the national career, and the Ordinance of 1787 made provision for the permanence of the majority, by declaring that not less than three nor more than five States should be created out of the Territory in which, by its own action, Slavery was forever prohibited.

Thus, fellow-citizens, our National Government may be fairly said to be based on three great principles in respect to Slavery: non-interference by the National Government with Slavery within slave States—non-extension of Slavery beyond the limits of the slave States—a perpetual majority of free States in the Union.

Our actual history demonstrates the fact, that only one of these three principles has been practically applied. The National Government has never interfered with Slavery in the slave States, but Slavery has been extended far beyond State limits; and the slaveholders have insisted, and during much the greater part of our historical period have actually been allowed to have as many slave States as there have been free States in the Union.

The original policy of the fathers of the Republic has been subverted. We simply demand its restoration. We "want indemnity for the past, and security for the future." [Cheers.] Neither I nor any other Republican, so far as I know, proposes any interference with Slavery in any State. What we demand is, that Slavery shall not be extended or permitted in any Territory outside of slave States. None among us would change any constitutional right or privilege now belonging to a State allowing Slavery within its limits; but we insist that no such right or privilege shall be abused, to the subversion of liberty in free States. *Ohio Freedom will not interfere with Kentucky Slavery—Kentucky Slavery must not interfere with Ohio Freedom.* [Earnest applause.]

If this be Abolitionism, then Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Adams, Franklin, and a great host of patriots, of names only less conspicuous than these, were Abolitionists. All these illustrious men hated Slavery. Most of them have left on record, to be transmitted from generation to generation, their stern condemnation of the system. All of them longed for the coming time in which the whole land should be delivered by the constitutional action of the National and State Governments, from this its greatest curse. Where they stood, I stand. What they felt, I feel. What they labored to accomplish, I labor—but oh! with what disproportionate energy and ability—to accomplish. In the methods and by the rules also which they observed, I aim to act—not seeking or expecting to interfere by national legislation, or by the legislation of any free State, with the internal affairs of any slave State; but firmly resolved to "resist the spread of Slavery," to "oppose its existence in any national territory," and to oppose also "the further increase of slave Territory or slave States in this Republican Confederacy."

If this be Abolitionism, who of you is not an Abolitionist? But we well know that the charge of Abolitionism is always intended to convey more than this. It is always designed to impute a rash, headlong zeal to get rid of Slavery, by whatever means, fair or unfair, without regard to the Constitution, without respect to the rights of the States, and in contempt of our obligations to the Union. In this sense, I certainly am not, and I think that none of you, my fellow-citizens, are Abolitionists. When, therefore, you hear such a charge made against me hereafter, treat it, I beseech you, with the contempt it merits.

REPUBLICANISM AND FUSION.

For myself, I owe no allegiance to any other than the Republican organization. I am not a member of any other. I proscribe no man. The rights of all my fellow-citizens, native or naturalized, are as dear to me as my own. For my associates on the State ticket, I dare vouch also that they are governed by no narrow or proscriptive ideas. Some of them—perhaps all of them—are members of the American organization, but they represent not the bigoted and proscriptive spirit which can see no worth even in any man born upon foreign soil, and whose blind fanaticism seeks its ends even through violence and bloodshed; but that liberal Americanism, which makes principles and character, and not birthplace, the test of qualification for citizenship, and which proposes to accord freely to all, wherever born, who are in heart Americans, all the privileges of American citizens. Whether I am mistaken is this or not, in one thing I cannot be mistaken. The Americans whom these gentlemen represent do at this moment unite in regarding Freedom and Reform as the paramount objects of political action at this moment, and they do join with all who, outside of their organization, are willing to join with them in the attainment of these objects. It is not, I am sure, an unreasonable expectation that men animated by such a spirit will so revise their declaration of principles and policy as to leave in them nothing justly obnoxious to the charge of proscriptiveness or intolerance. Let us unite now for the great objects of our union, and generously and fearlessly trust the future.

But what are our opponents, who denounce us as Fusionists—who seek to hold us responsible for the destruction of the ballot-boxes at Cincinnati, and for the bloodshed at Louisville—who hurl at their fellow-citizens throughout the States such epithets as dark-lantern conspirators, midnight assassins, murderers of women and children—what are they doing? Have they not a pet fusion of their own? What says the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the principal Administration paper of Southern Ohio, edited by the United States Marshal for the Southern District? Here is a passage which I find credited, as I doubt not correctly, to that print:

"The Democrats *en masse*, the Old Line Whigs, the National Know Nothings, and Union-loving men, will combine in one great mass, forgetting all distinction when the Union is in danger, and, from the Ohio river to the great Lakes, will charge Abolitionism with a vigor and spirit that will be irresistible, and lead to a brilliant and annihilating victory."

This looks very much like a fusion; and a fusion, too, of a most remarkable character. Democrats, Whigs, and Know Nothings, are to "*combine.*" That great master of language, Edmund Burke, once said, "When bad men *combine*, good men should unite." I do not say that those who, according to the *Enquirer*, "will *combine*," are bad men, but certainly the editor is not very felicitous in his choice of expressions. Then, what is the object of the combination? It is to "charge Abolitionism." By "Abolitionism," they mean Republicanism. It is to resist the union of the people for the sake of Freedom, that the Democrats are to combine with the Old Line Whigs and National Know Nothings. Now, who are the Old Line Whigs? Why, those Whigs who, unmindful of the ideas of 1776, and careless of the great objects of the movement of the people, prefer to give aid and comfort to the party of the Administration, rather than unite with the great mass of their patriotic Whig brethren upon the platform and in support of the ticket of the 13th July! Why, those members of the American organization who prove by their action that they prefer the triumph of the bitterest foes and most vehement denouncers of the Order, rather than the election of a man who stands shoulder to shoulder with nine-tenths of its members in defence of its own declared principle, that "Freedom is national, and Slavery local." Now, what is the bond of such a combination as this? What can it be but hostility to the cardinal principle of the Republican Union—resistance to the spread of Slavery, and opposition to the aggressions of the Slave Power? And in what an attitude do the Administration advocates of such a combination present themselves to the people? In the same breath, almost, they call upon the naturalized voters to come to the rescue of Democracy against the Know Nothings, and upon the Know Nothings themselves—or rather upon the Pro-Slavery Know Nothings—the very men and the only men in the American Order who insist on the proscription of the foreign-born citizens, and who, if anybody, are responsible for the very violences which the Administration men denounce—to come to the rescue of Democracy against Republicanism! What wonderful consistency! The very heaven grows black with storm—the tempest of the people's wrath darkens round them—the great deep of popular indignation threatens to engulph them; and then the captains of the Administration fleet, bound South to Slavery and a market, cry out, in the extremity of their distress, to "Old Line Whigs" and "National Know Nothings," to Pro-Slavery men of all sorts and colors, "Save, O save us, or we sink!"

POWER OF THE STATES AND OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

It has been charged that the views of Mr. Chase on the Slavery question, as set forth in his speech in Cincinnati and in his speeches in various other places, are not the same as those he has heretofore entertained and expressed. The following extracts from his speeches made in the United States Senate, when he was a member of that body, will show that this charge is not true. His views on the subject of Slavery are clearly set forth in the following extracts made from his speeches in the United States Senate, as reported in the *Globe*. In a speech delivered March 26th, 1850, he said:

"We have no power to legislate on the subject of Slavery in the States. We have power to prevent its extension, and to prohibit its existence within the sphere of the exclusive jurisdiction of the General Government. Our duty, therefore, is to abstain from interference with it in the States. It is also our duty to prohibit its extension in the National Territories, and its continuance where we are constitutionally responsible for its existence."

March 26th, 1850, he said:

"We find, on the contrary, extreme care to exclude these ideas from the Constitution. Neither the word 'slave' nor 'slavery' is to be found in any provision. There is not a single expression which charges the National Government with any responsibility in regard to Slavery. No power is conferred on Congress either to establish or sustain it. The framers of the Constitution left it where they found it, exclusively in and under the jurisdiction of the States. Whenever slaves are referred to at all in the Constitution, whether in the clause providing for the apportionment of representation and direct taxation, or in that stipulating for the extradition of fugitives from service, or in that restricting Congress as to the prohibition of importation or migration, they are spoken of, not as persons held as property, but as persons held to service, or having their conditions determined under State laws. We learn, indeed, from debates in the Constitutional Convention, that the idea of property in men was excluded with special solicitude.

"No person * * * shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."—*Const., Amend., Art.* 5.

In my judgment, sir, if this amendment had never been made, Congress would have had no power to institute Slavery; that is to say, to enforce, by its laws, the subjection of one man to the absolute control and disposal of another man; for no such power is conferred by the Constitution, and the action of Congress must be restrained within its delegated powers. But the amendment is an express guaranty of personal liberty. It is an express prohibition against its invasion. So long as it remains a part of the Constitution, and is obeyed, Slavery cannot be constitutionally introduced, anywhere, by the legislation of Congress. It must depend, and depend wholly, upon State law, both for existence and support. Beyond State limits, within the boundaries of the United States, there can be constitutionally no slave."

In January, 1854, he remarked:

"Sir, our offence is, that we deny the nationality of Slavery. No man can show that we have ever sought to interfere with the legislation of any State of the Union upon that subject. All that we have ever insisted upon is, that the Territories of this Union shall be preserved from Slavery; and that, where the General Government exercises exclusive jurisdiction, its legislation shall be on the side of Liberty."

And again, in February, 1854:

"My general view upon this subject is simply this: Slavery is the subjection of one man to the absolute disposal of another man, by force. Master and slave, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and by the law of nature, are alike men, endowed by their Creator with equal rights. Sir, Mr. Pinkney was right, when, in the Maryland House of Delegates, he exclaimed, 'By the eternal principles of justice, no man in the State has a right to hold his slave for a single hour.' Slavery then exists nowhere by the law of nature. Wherever it exists at all, it must be through the sanction and support of municipal or State legislation.

"Upon this state of things the Constitution acts. It recognises all men as persons. It confers no power, but, on the contrary, expressly denies to the Government of its creation all power to establish or continue Slavery. Congress has no more power under the Constitution to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to establish Slavery than to establish the Inquisition.

"At the same time, the Constitution confers no power on Congress, but, on the contrary, denies all power, to interfere with the internal policy of any State, sanctioned and established by its own Constitution and by its own legislation, in respect to the personal relations of its inhabitants. The States, under the Constitution, are absolutely free from all interference by Congress in that respect, except, perhaps, in the case of war or insurrection, and may legislate as they please within the limitations of their own Constitutions. They may allow Slavery if they please, just as they may license other wrongs; but State laws, by which Slavery is allowed and regulated, can operate only within the limits of the State, and can have no extra-territorial effect."

As to his views on the subject of the Territories, they are clearly set forth in the following extracts, taken from the same source. June 6th, 1850, he said:

"For myself, I hold that the Constitution extends to the Territories, and in this we nearly all agree; but we differ widely as to the effects of the Constitution upon personal rights. For my own part, so long as the Constitution retains unaltered that provision which denies to Congress all power to deprive any person of liberty without due process of law, I shall not believe that any person can be held in the Territories as a slave, without a violation of that instrument."—*Cong. Globe, vol.* 21, *pt.* 2, *p.* 1146. *June* 6, 1850.

March 27th, 1850, he said:

"In my judgment, also, neither the Government of the United States, nor any Territorial Government, is or can be constitutionally authorized to institute Slavery, any more than a monarchy, or a national religion, or the inquisition."—*Cong. Globe, vol.* 22, *pt.* 1, *App., p.* 378. *March* 27th, 1850.

From the same:

"For myself, I cannot doubt upon the subject. The power to provide Governments for the Territories, and to prescribe just limits to their action, is clearly given by the Constitution. It has been exercised under every Administration, and by nearly every Congress, since the organization of the Government. Whatever differences of opinion there may have been as to the existence or limits of other powers, there has been very little as to this. The power to prohibit Slavery in the Territories is, in my judgment, clear and indisputable, and the duty of exercising it is imperative and sacred."

"But we are told, that if Congress prohibit Slavery in the Territories, or abolish Slavery or the slave trade in this District, or fail to provide adequate securities for the return of runaway slaves, the South will dissolve the Union! This cry, Mr. President, neither astonishes nor alarms me. I have never thought, nor do I now think, that any man should be deterred by it from an honest, fearless discharge of his duty here. It is an old cry, not without profit to those who have used it."

For the National Era.

A TRIBUTE TO GERRIT SMITH.

BY LYDIA A. CALDWELL.

Where dim along the line of reckoned ages
We backward cast the question in our eyes,
Lo! glorious shapes, philosophers and sages,
Through Time's blue calm like mountain heights arise.

Sublime and still, they need no poet's singing,
To tell how well they lived, how grandly died;
Each life an epic—all the winds are singing
Forever out this story, far and wide.

And thus thou standest 'mid us, princely spirit!
While we, too near, see not the mountain's brow.
The wealthy Future shall from us inherit
A life of which we are unworthy now.

O Prophet Statesman! be thou meek in waiting,
For no brief, splendid fame shall be thy meed;
The world will yet re-live thy life in mating
Each thought of thine unto as grand a deed.

A NEW STATE.—A new star is likely soon to be added to the American constellation. The Legislature of Michigan has passed an act providing for the formation of a new State or Territory of Superior. Michigan gives part and Wisconsin part, to form the new Commonwealth.

The receipts at the the United States Agricultural exhibition at Boston, last week, amounted to nearly fifty thousand dollars. This is, we believe, without a parallel.

TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. Whitney is our authorized canvassing agent for New York city and vicinity, and will receive and forward advertisements for the Era at our lowest rates.

Advertisements can be left at his office, No. 22 Spruce street.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1855.

Mr. Seward's able speech at Buffalo will be found on the fourth page of to-day's *Era*. No reader of taste or discrimination will fail to give it a careful perusal. It is a fitting sequel to the great speech at Albany, which we published last week.

The Hon. Charles Sumner has addressed the people of Massachusetts in various places, within a few days, and has everywhere met with immense crowds of enthusiastic listeners. The newspapers speak in glowing terms of his eloquent and effective addresses. We have received the speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, on the 2d inst., and, from a hasty glance, feel assured that its merits have not been exaggerated.

GOV. SEWARD'S SPEECH IN GERMAN.

We are pleased to learn, by a notice in another column, that the Republican Association of this city have had the admirable speech recently delivered at Albany, by Mr. Seward, translated into the German language, and published in pamphlet form. We hope the friends of Freedom will give it a wide circulation.

BLACK MAIL.

The Washington *Organ* and other presses having charged that the Administration had extorted contributions from the clerks and other subordinate officials in this city, the *Union* responds as follows:

"The Know Nothing papers are excessively indignant because a collection was raised in one of the Departments of this city, for the purpose of assisting the Democratic cause in the city of Baltimore at the approaching election, and grave charges are hurled against one of the chiefs of the Department alluded to, for his exertions in recommending these contributions. We confess that we see no grevious harm in all this matter."

We suppose that there can be no great wrong in the voluntary contributions by office-holders, more than by private citizens, to the advancement of their parties or principles; but if, as is alleged, the money has been demanded by the heads of bureaus, or other superior officers, the case is one of foul corruption. No greater outrage upon the conscience and honor of a man can be made, than to compel him, on pain of dismissal from office, to contribute to the advancement of a cause which his judgment disapproves; and, even if the official should be in full sympathy with the Administration, he becomes a slave, if he submits to be taxed for any such purpose.

Does the *Union* mean to sanction this capitation tax upon the clerks? And does the official organ admit that a corruption fund has been raised, to carry the Maryland election, by this dishonorable and tyrannical exaction? It is not a business in which an honorable man would participate as a tax-gatherer, though we fear that many honest men, with families to support, have been the victims of it. Let the *Union* speak out more distinctly. Let it answer if the Federal Administration has stooped to the infamous, petty tyranny, of exacting contributions from office-holders.

PASSMORE WILLIAMSON RELEASED.

Our readers will rejoice at the release of Passmore Williamson from unlawful imprisonment, and still more that he made no dishonorable or unworthy concession in order to procure his discharge. Judge Kane has been brought to a sense of the foul tyranny which he was exercising over an innocent man, and has shown every disposition to release himself of the fearful responsibility. There is some merit in repentance, at least.

THE CASE OF PASSMORE WILLIAMSON—HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON.

On Saturday morning, Passmore Williamson appeared in the United States District Court in Philadelphia, accompanied by Messrs. Meredith, Gilpin, and Hopper, his counsel, and offered a petition, in which he expressed his willingness to purge himself of the contempt in the Wheeler slave case, for which he was imprisoned in July last. Judge Kane received the petition, granted the prayer, and required Williamson to affirm to what he had to say in reply to the interrogatories of the Court. Certain interrogatories were then propounded to him by Mr. Vandyke, the District Attorney, to which he replied:

"I did not seek to obey the writ by producing the persons therein mentioned before the Court, because I had not, at the time of the service of the writ, the power over the custody or control of them, and therefore it was impossible for me to do so. I first heard of the writ of *habeas corpus* on Friday, July 20th, between one and two o'clock A. M., on my return from Harrisburg. After breakfast, about nine o'clock, I went from my house to Mr. Hopper's office, when and where the return was prepared.

"At ten o'clock, I came into court, as commanded by the writ. I sought to obey the writ, by answering it truly. The parties not being in my possession or control, it was impossible for me to obey the writ by producing them. Since the service of the writ, I have not had the custody, possession, or power over them; nor have I known where they were, except from common rumor or the newspaper reports, in regard to their public appearance in the city or elsewhere."

Some discussion arose between the District Attorney and the counsel of Mr. Williamson. Mr. Vandyke contended that the reply of the defendant was evasive and contradictory. The Judge said the difficulty, he thought, could be easily overcome, by amending the answer; and, at the suggestion of the Court, it was amended in the following manner:

"I did not seek to obey the writ, by producing the persons in the writ mentioned before this Court. I did not so seek, because I verily believed that it was entirely impossible for me to produce the said persons agreeably to the command of the Court."

This answer was then accepted by the Court, and ordered to be filed.

Judge Kane then remarked that the District Attorney had been invited to aid the Court in this case, but that he would bear in mind that his relation to Mr. Wheeler was now suspended. This was only an inquiry as to what injury had been done the process of the Court.

Mr. Vandyke said he was aware of the position he occupied.

Judge Kane then said: "The contempt is now regarded as purged, and the party is released from custody. He is now reinstated to the position he occupied before the contempt was committed. Mr. Williamson is now before me on the return of the writ."

Mr. Vandyke then arose, and addressed the Court, stating that a *nolle pros.* had been entered in the case in this Court, but that he had, on behalf of Mr. Wheeler, entered a suit for damages in the United States Circuit Court. Judge Kane thereupon discharged Williamson from custody. He was immediately surrounded, and heartily congratulated by his friends. He is said to look exceedingly well.

It will be seen that the only difference between Williamson's answer above, and that originally given, is, that he now omits to assert that he never had possession of the negroes, but by no means asserts the contrary. Thus has the voice of the People and the thunders of the Press opened the prison-doors, and vindicated the cause of Freedom and Justice against the strong arm of Federal Tyranny.

EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR THE ERA.

L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq., 27 New Broad street, London, England, has kindly consented to act as agent for the *National Era* in Great Britain and Europe.

THE PRESIDENCY.

In less than twelve months from to-day, the people of the United States will be called on to select a President for the succeeding four years, under circumstances of extraordinary importance. All previous contests of the kind are thrown into the shade, in comparison with that which is now approaching, in the influence which it is destined to wield upon the national character and welfare. The growth of the Pro-Slavery sentiment has been gradual, from an early period of our history to the present time; and the encroachments of the slave oligarchy upon the rights of the people, commencing by stealthy and almost imperceptible approaches, has risen at length to the fearful height of threatening the overthrow of the last remnant of constitutional and civil Freedom. The question of Slavery has, for a dozen years, exercised a potent influence on the politics of the country, and in the last Presidential struggle it was almost the only subject of controversy. But never until now was it the sole issue, fairly made up, with the friends of Freedom arrayed on one side, and those of Slavery on the other. In 1844, the annexation of Texas was the turning point; but thousands of Southern men, slaveholders, opposed the acquisition on conservative grounds, or in a spirit of accommodation to their Northern allies; while large bodies of Northern men, for like party considerations, or other motives than approbation of Slavery, favored annexation. In 1848, each of the great parties avoided as far as practicable a direct issue on the subject of Slavery—the Whigs as a party saying nothing, and leaving its members in the different sections of the Union to say what they pleased; while the Democratic party made a great noise over its hobby of non-intervention. As parties, neither made a direct issue with the Buffalo Free-Soilers, while the Northern partisans of Cass and Taylor, particularly of the latter, claimed to be equally hostile with the Free-Soilers to Slavery extension.

In 1852, the contest was still on side issues—the question was not, openly, Freedom or Slavery, but Slavery or Conservatism. The North was not at that time sufficiently aroused to the importance of vindicating the principles of Freedom. The slave oligarchy had committed many and great outrages; it had grossly perverted the ends of Government, monopolized the lion's share of Federal power and patronage; but still, all were regarded as "honorable men"—Calhoun was an "honorable man," Clay was an "honorable man," and the South was regarded as the very land of chivalrous honor. But the repeal of the Nebraska bill has at last opened the eyes of the Northern people to the singular delusion which they have for generations indulged, that a system which violates every principle of justice is the peculiar nursery of honor and good faith. They at length see their error, and are resolved to repair the injury which they have sustained from its indulgence. The last subterfuge of demagogues, the last refuge of lies, is at length swept away, and the friends of Freedom and Slavery must meet face to face.

It was vainly hoped for a time that Know Nothingism would serve to divert public attention from the true issue; but that humbug has now exploded, leaving the great controversy in all its magnitude to be decided.

The approaching Presidential election will turn upon the single question of Slavery. We rejoice at it. We will not doubt the result. It cannot be that a majority of the American people will deliberately prefer Slavery to Freedom—it cannot be that they will sanction, by a direct vote, the principle of Slavery extension, the perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the piratical foray of Missouri rowdies into Kansas. These are the issues, and no cunning expedients, such as have heretofore interposed false issues, and diverted the people from a direct grapple with the privileged class, can any longer be invented.

There are several parties in the country which have cherished aspirations towards the Presidency; but, as the campaign approaches, the contest is rapidly narrowing down to two—namely, the Republican, or party of Freedom, and the preposterously called *Democratic*, Pro-Slavery party. Whigery is dead and buried. Deader than Douglas, deader than Cass, if possible. Know Nothingism, the executor and residuary legatee of Whigery, is in a dying state—in fact, the monster is already cold and stiff in half its body, from which political galvanism will be unable to arouse it. In all the Northern States—even in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, where twelve months ago it ran riot with excess of prosperity—it is now lifeless. It now holds the ascendency in but two States, or at most three, namely, Kentucky and California, with perhaps Delaware. These it may possibly carry in the Presidential contest, but, in doing so, it will only serve to divide the forces of Slavery; and if to these Tennessee and Louisiana be added, the effect will be the same. But we anticipate the complete dissolution of the party in the course of twelve months more, since we believe that it has in no one locality held sway longer than twelve or eighteen months. If, as there is good reason to anticipate, the Know Nothing epidemic should die out in California before the Presidential election takes place, we indulge the hope that that State may be enrolled under the Republican banner. For twelve months or more, we have observed in the California papers an improved tone on the Slavery question; and we cannot believe that the State will again relapse into the embrace of the ultra Pro-Slavery party, which for years struggled to introduce Slavery.

A bold and talented leader, who could not be browbeaten by the impudent and unscrupulous champions of Slavery, might at once rally a strong party for Freedom. Edward Stanly, late of North Carolina, is just the man to take the lead in such a movement. He had the moral courage to tell his North Carolina constituents, in the excited period of 1850, that he regarded Slavery as an evil; and we believe that it is well understood that he is no friend to Slavery extension. He stands aloof from Know Nothingism; as a citizen of California, he is doubtless opposed to the introduction of Slavery into that State, and he must be conscious, with his long political experience and knowledge of what Locofocoism is, that the triumph of Republicanism is the only safeguard against the extension of Slavery into all the Territories, and into California.

The gallant Stanly would gain imperishable laurels by such a course, and render an invaluable service to his country and to Freedom. He would not be acting inconsistently with his course while in Congress, because the issue is now pressed upon him by the unprincipled policy of Locofocoism, to choose between Slavery and Freedom for California and the Territories. The most conservative man is now forced to take sides, by every consideration of honor and duty. To be neutral, or to support the policy of the handful of "Straight-out Whigs," is substantially to abandon principle, and yield the victory to the most unscrupulous enemies of civilization and humanity that ever ruled any country.

But we are digressing. Our object is to speculate upon the probable results of the Presidential contest.

In the first place, the two great parties in the contest will come into the field with distinct and emphatic declarations of principle. The Republicans will come forward with a platform declaring Freedom to be national, and Slavery sectional—they will declare in favor of confining Slavery to the slave States, and will oppose the admission of any more slave States into the Union. The sham Democracy will take the opposite ground, in favor of the right of slaveholding in all the Territories, and the right of transit for slaves through the free States. They will endorse the Fugitive Slave Law, with all its fiendish details, and sanction the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, with the outrages of the Squatter Sovereigns in Kansas. These concessions will be rigidly and imperatively demanded by the South in the Cincinnati Convention; they will be yielded by the Northern doughfaced delegates, the Softs or semi-Free-Soilers being first kicked out, if any should make their appearance; and the platform, thus constituted of Virginia and Georgia plank, will secure at least three-fourths of the Southern electoral votes. The Know Nothings will probably carry Kentucky and Delaware, and possibly Tennessee and Louisiana. These are the limits of their possibilities in the South, the twelfth section of their Philadelphia platform to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Locos everywhere, south of Mason and Dixon's line, have the inside track of the dark-lantern boys, for the reason that they are regarded as more actively subservient to the Slave Power. The Locos are the aggressive Pro-Slavery party, the champions of Slavery extension; while the Know Nothings are the timid conservatives, who only profess attachment to Southern institutions, and *acquiesce* in the aggressions of their opponents.

But the ultra Pro-Slavery character of the Locofoco platform, while it will make them invincible in the South, will render it impossible to carry a single free State on a direct issue of a Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery President. In the late State elections, no direct issue on Slavery was presented. Side issues intervened to turn the scale. In Maine, the Temperance question divided the enemies of Slavery, and prevented the Republicans from carrying the State by an absolute majority, though their vote, together with that of the Whigs, who professed equal abhorrence of Slavery, shows an overwhelming ascendency of the Anti-Slavery feeling, which cannot fail to be united on the Republican candidate for President. Even the Pierce Democratic candidates professed to be opposed to Slavery in the Territories, and some of them declared themselves against the Nebraska Bill. In the Presidential contest, no such shifts and subterfuges, and no such side issues, can be interposed, to prevent a fair expression of public opinion.

In Pennsylvania, similar causes prevented a union of the Anti-Nebraska voters, who brought four candidates for Canal Commissioner into the field, against the single candidate of the Administration. The consequence was, that the latter was elected by a plurality vote, though falling nearly three thousand short of a majority, while the total vote cast was *sixty* odd thousand less than was polled for Pierce, Scott, and Hale, in 1852. The organization of the Republican party was not complete. Know Nothingism was sadly in the way, and instead of fusion on Republican principles, "forsaking all others," there was only a coalition of Whigs, Know Nothings, and Independent Democrats. Their defeat was just the thing necessary to teach them wisdom, and we rejoice at it. They have abundant elements of success in the approaching Presidential election, by an overwhelming majority, and we will not doubt that they will achieve it gloriously, under the Republican banner. Indiana furnishes another example of the ill success of partial fusion on a platform of principles tainted with the odor of Know Nothingism. The Party of Secrecy still had hopes and ulterior aims of its own, and refused to lay aside its narrow, proscriptive creed. The result is, a want of hearty co-operation on the part of Independent Democrats and other Anti-Nebraska men, while the foreigners, who would have swelled the ranks of a genuine Republican party, were utterly repelled by the intolerant spirit which guided the spurious party that assumed the name. All this will be corrected, ere the Presidential election takes place; and we cannot doubt that true Republicanism will be inaugurated, uncontaminated with the slightest vestige of the exploded proscriptive humbug. Under such auspices, we cannot doubt that Indiana will give a majority of twenty thousand in favor of Freedom, and that the foul spirit of Slavery will be utterly exterminated in the State.

The same necessity for reorganization—for purging out Know Nothingism—exists in Iowa. The Slavery party has been defeated in that State, but it has not been done fairly and squarely upon Republican principles. Know Nothingism claims a share in the victory, and thus mars the satisfaction which all true lovers of Freedom would otherwise feel at the result. The same remark is applicable to Illinois. It is not too late to correct these errors. The people are honestly and earnestly opposed to Slavery, and mean to resist its aggressions. We cannot doubt that they regard Slavery as a far greater and more impending evil than those which they think they see in the presence of the Catholic and foreign population. We ask no man to surrender his opinions until he sees their error, but there can be no sacrifice of principle in leaving them out of his political associations. The members of every association must differ among themselves upon many points, and yet they overlook them all for the sake of harmony in that which constitutes the object of the association. Even the Know Nothing party itself is composed of all shades of Protestantism, with a still larger proportion of men professing no religion; yet they merge all the radical differences which divide them into sects, in order to present an undivided front to the Catholics and foreigners. No one is expected to surrender his peculiar views, but he is simply not permitted to put them into the platform of the party, or to urge them in its name. The individual may hold to his doctrine of infant baptism, or immersion, or predestination, or unity, or trinity, and may advocate them freely, but not as a Know Nothing. Why, then, may not the Know Nothing join the Catholic or the foreigner in opposing Slavery? If he be sincerely opposed to Slavery, and has the intelligence to see that Freedom is of transcendent political importance, he must feel that it is a high duty to waive all other measures for the sake of securing this. If he be a Whig, he will agree to form a Republican party without the protective tariff plank; if he be a Democrat, he will waive the free trade plank; if he be a Know Nothing, he will waive his anti-foreign and anti-Catholic prejudices or views; if he be a foreigner, he will be ready to come into the Republican party, without insisting upon a plank anathematizing the Know Nothings. Each will be satisfied that the platform is free from any encroachment upon his own rights or feelings, and will not insist that they should encroach upon those of somebody else.

It is in this spirit of liberality and tolerance that all parties are formed. When men agree as to the desirableness of a great common purpose, they must, in order to effect it, "agree to disagree" on a thousand minor matters.

With this reorganization thoroughly effected on the true basis, we regard the triumph of the Republican candidate as certain. It is impossible for the Pro-Slavery Democracy, standing on such a platform as the South will build for them, to carry a free State; and it is equally impossible for the Know Nothings, routed and dispersed as they have been, to carry any free State, except California. The election of a Republican President is therefore certain, if tolerable prudence and energy guides its counsels, securing the permanent triumph of Freedom and the denationalization of Slavery.

Slavery, as a power in the State, can never rise, when once overthrown. The people, North and South, are sick of its despotic rule, and, with their feet on the neck of the monster, they will never suffer it to rise. Thousands of the best and most intelligent men of the South are now panting for the pure atmosphere of Freedom, and will seize the first opportunity to denounce a system which deprives them, no less than the miserable slaves, of one half of their manhood, and imposes eternal silence upon them, unless they are willing to speak the praises of the hateful thing which holds the padlock to their lips. They will rejoice at the triumph of Republicanism, and, with the Federal Government to sustain them, they will utter their long-pent-up feelings of disgust and horror in thunder tones. They will at once rally the People to their support against the privileged class, who now heartlessly domineer over them, and hold them in greater contempt than their slaves.

Republicans, let no craven doughface teach you to fear the consequences of your triumph. The victory will be splendid and heart-cheering but its results will be more glorious, more happy, more beneficent, than can be conceived of. Believe not that the South will be offended, and dissolve the Union. Doubtless the privileged class will be mightily offended, but the Southern People will rejoice even more than you, for their deliverance will be greater than yours. But, in any event, must the North submit? Must American freemen forever yield to the dictation of the slaveholders, in order to preserve a Union without which those slaveholders would be ruined? None but cowards and traitors to Freedom and Humanity will give such counsel, and none but white slaves will receive it.

SLAVERY IN TENNESSEE.

There is more moral independence in Tennessee than in any slaveholding State, unless we except Kentucky and Missouri. Indeed, although there is more out-spoken Anti-Slavery in Kentucky than in Tennessee, we believe that the tone of feeling among the people generally, and the politicians of the old parties, is more healthy and manly in the latter than the former. It will be recollected that four of the Tennessee delegates to Congress voted against the Nebraska Bill.

The following article from the Nashville *Banner* explains itself. It will be seen that Colonel Ramsey has not demeaned himself so far as to recant, retract, or even to apologize for the Anti-Slavery sentiments which he expressed twenty-one years ago. We could wish that the Faulkners and Summers of Virginia had equal manliness; but it seems that it requires less pluck to fight a duel than to stick to one's principles amid popular odium. Mr. Faulkner has, for some months, been attempting to evade the laws, in order to get a shot at Mr. Boteler. It would be a thousand times more honorable and courageous to stick to the noble sentiments of Freedom which he avowed in 1832.

COLONEL RAMSEY.

The election for Secretary of State, Comptroller, and Treasurer, by the Legislature, takes place to-day. With a view to injure Colonel Ramsey, the Secretary of State, who is a candidate for re-election, the *Union and American* reproduces a report of the proceedings of a public meeting, held twenty-one years ago, at Knoxville, to consider the propriety of abolishing Slavery in this State, in which proceedings Colonel Ramsey participated. The *Union and American* republished the same report a few days before the election, in 1853, on which occasion Colonel Ramsey came out with the following *extinguisher*:

From the Nashville True Whig of July 28, 1853.

To the Editor of the True Whig:

In the *Union and American* of this morning, certain sentiments expressed by myself and others, at a public meeting at Knoxville, in 1834, are published, with the avowed purpose of implicating Major Henry, through his friendship for me, in whatever may be thought objectionable in the proceedings of that meeting. I will not attempt, at this time, any vindication of the abstract sentiments uttered by that meeting, only so far as to show that they were at that time the sentiments of the State, and that they were *substantially re-affirmed by the Convention* which assembled a short time thereafter. A number of petitions, similar in sentiment to the resolutions of the Knoxville meeting, were sent up to the Convention, from different parts of the State, signed indiscriminately by slaveholders and non-slaveholders, asking that body to incorporate into the new Constitution some plan for the *gradual* and *conditional* emancipation of slaves. These petitions were all referred to a committee appointed to deliberate and report upon the subject. In that report, the committee, in arguing against the *plan* proposed in the petitions, utter this strong affirmation of the main abstract sentiment of the Knoxville meeting: "The committee do not understand the Convention as denying the truth of the proposition which asserts that SLAVERY IS AN EVIL. To prove it to be a GREAT EVIL IS AN EASY TASK; but to tell how that EVIL can be removed, is a question that the wisest heads and the most benevolent hearts have not been able to answer in a satisfactory manner." (See Journal of Convention, pages 37 and 38.) In another part of the report, the following consolatory language is used: "But the friends of humanity need not despair; the memorialists need not DREAD that Slavery will be perpetuated in our highly-favored country." And again: "If misguided fanatics *in those parts of the United States where Slavery does not now exist* will only refrain from intermeddling in a matter in which they have no concern, and in which their interference can do no possible good, and may do much positive evil, Slavery, WITH ALL ITS ILLS, will be extinguished as certainly and speedily as the friends of humanity have any reason to expect;" and the report, after elaborately setting forth the inefficiency and inexpediency of the plan proposed by the memorialists, concludes with, "So a premature attempt on the part of the benevolent to get rid of the EVILS OF SLAVERY would certainly have the effect of postponing to a far distant day the accomplishment of an event DEVOUTLY AND ARDENTLY DESIRED BY THE WISE AND THE GOOD in every part of our beloved country."

This report, containing the abstract sentiment THAT SLAVERY IS AN EVIL, nay, that IT IS A GREAT EVIL, accompanied with MANY ILLS, and that its ABOLITION IS AN EVENT DEVOUTLY AND ARDENTLY TO BE DESIRED BY THE WISE AND GOOD IN EVERY PART OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY, was adopted by the authorities of our State, while standing in their highest political attitude, and under all the sanctions and solemnities of a sworn deliberative body, by a vote of 44 affirmative to 10 negative votes. (See Journal of Convention, page 100.) Now, what higher vindication can any Tennessean desire than is to be found in the utterance of any sentiment, side by side with such of her illustrous dead as Alexander, and Blount, and Burton, and Cannon, and Cheatham, and Cahal, and Cobbs, and Huntsman, and McKinney, and Webster, and Weakly, and other no less distinguished living cotemporaries, Fulton, and Fogg, Gordon, and Humphreys, and Ledbetter, and Loving, and many others, all of whom voted for the report? And to impute any unsoundness to Major Henry, upon the great Southern question, because he voted for me after my participancy in the Knoxville meeting, would be as unjust to him as to impute to the Democratic party the same unsoundness, because they elected and re-elected one of their party, who had been in the Convention and voted for this report, to a distinguished office in the State—or to charge the same unsoundness on President Pierce, for conferring upon this same individual a high and responsible judicial appointment in our State. I had the honor and gratification of receiving Major Henry's vote, at my last election; so had I the honor and gratification of receiving the votes of a large majority of the Legislature, composed of both political parties; to all of whom I feel and acknowledge my obligations, and not one of whom, I will venture to assert, ever thought of any position I might have occupied at the Knoxville meeting.

Will you do me the favor of inserting the foregoing, capitalized as in the manuscript?

W. B. A. Ramsey.

July 28, 1853.

WHAT IS KNOW NOTHINGISM?

When Know Nothingism first made its appearance, its principal aim was to check the aggressions of Popery, and secondarily to curtail the foreign influence. But "politics make strange bed-fellows;" and "'tis passing strange" to see Sam and the Pope lie down together in perfect peace, as is now witnessed in Louisiana. Has the Millennium commenced, and are we in our day to see the lamb and the lion lie down together?

A gentleman has shown us the Louisiana *Republican*, containing the American ticket, with the religious sentiments of the candidates indicated in pencil marks. According to this paper, of forty-six candidates for State, Federal, and Parish officers, *fifteen* are Catholics, and one a Jew! What will the indomitable Brooks say to this? Is all his labor in the demolition of Archbishop Hughes to be in vain? We believe that the same tolerance of Catholics exists among the Know Nothings of Alabama, and perhaps other Southern States.

On the other hand, most of the Know Nothings with whom we meet, say that they have no objections to *Protestant* foreigners voting and holding office, but that they have serious dread of Popery. We believe that in Illinois, and other Western States, some exception has been made in behalf of Protestant foreigners, by the Know Nothing Councils, while their proscriptive principles have been directed against the Irish and other Catholics. In Virginia and North Carolina, the Know Nothings have recently repudiated all secrecy, with all the signs, pass-words, and flummery, which, a few months ago, spread terror among the demagogues of the old parties, and caused thousands of them to surrender at discretion, at the first sight of Sam, as the coon did to Captain Scott.

On the Slavery question, Sam is anything by turns, and nothing long. In Massachusetts, he nullifies the Fugitive Slave Law—in Virginia, he threatens dissolution or retaliation, unless the nullifying law of Massachusetts is repealed. In a word, Sam is a rank Abolitionist, a moderate Abolitionist, a Conservative, a Union-saver, a Filibuster, a Slavery Propagandist, as latitudes and longitudes may require, and is only consistent in being always and in all places—a humbug.

If anything was wanted to render Know Nothinism thoroughly contemptible, these ridiculous inconsistencies and incongruities must do the business for it. Sam is no longer Sam. The chameleon changes its hue with every leaf and flower it crawls upon, but Sam goes further, and changes the texture and fibre, the bone and gristle, of his whole body, as circumstances demand. He adapts himself to anybody's Procrustean bed, by lopping off his leg, tail, head, arm, or a section of his body, and is all things to all men, in the worst sense of the word. Sam is like the knife, which first received a new rivet, then a new handle, then a new blade—he has lost his identity, and is, in a word, an exploded humbug.

THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

The following letter is addressed to a member of the Republican Association of this city. We publish it for the sake of the sensible suggestions it makes, and hope they will be generally acted on. We are happy in being able to state that the Republican Association have taken a fine Hall, or Club Room, on D street, between 8th and 9th, and that they are now prepared to forward speeches and other valuable information (franked) to the order of our Republican friends.

Paulding, Paulding Co., Ohio,
October 24, 1855.

Dear Sir: I have lately seen several notices (in the *Era*) of the "Republican Association of Washington;" and feeling an interest in the success of its object, I write to ask a few questions and make a few suggestions—perhaps very foolish ones, too—with regard to the matter.

Upon seeing the notices alluded to, and particularly the 5th article of your Constitution, it occurred to me that it might prove a great benefit to organize auxiliary societies in every county, township, and village, where it could be conveniently done, and have your society at Washington to act as the managing head of the whole local societies, and aid in disseminating political information, tracts, and documents, among them, somewhat after the fashion of the "Anti-Corn Law League" and "Chartist Association" in England, or the different "Repeal Associations" in Ireland.

This would probably give us the full strength of our party, and enable us to wield our moral force with almost all the effect of a secret society, without being subject to the dangers or objections which would attend the latter.

Or a better plan might be formed, by uniting the useful with the practical and pleasant. Local societies might, where they could conveniently do so, (as in villages and populous neighborhoods,) organize "reading rooms," and, by paying in a small sum annually, acquire a great deal of political information, by subscribing for newspapers and other vehicles of political statistics.

These funds might be transmitted to the Washington Association, and we could by that means procure the greatest amount of information at the least possible expense, because the latter Association, contracting for all the local ones which might think it prudent to encourage the plan, could, by purchasing or subscribing for journals by the quantity, get them at the least possible cost.

Or, should it not be even thought advisable to encourage the associative plan with regard to reading rooms, it would be well enough to organize these "auxiliary societies," and let them appoint some suitable persons to whom members of Congress and your Society could send papers, documents, &c., and let him take and lend these documents to individuals, getting them back after being read, and then lending them again, first to one, then to another, and so on.

By the first-mentioned plan, we could more readily ascertain our strength, and act in harmony, than in any other way. We could also more readily compel our assailants—these base assassins of liberty—to discuss their principles, if they have any, and compare them with ours; and hence we could more readily fasten *public attention* on politics, than in any other manner; and that being once fastened, all will be well. It was the apathy with which the masses heretofore viewed politics, that gave our opponents their strength, and this apathy they have mistaken for approbative sympathy.

I have not time to refer to the minutiæ of the plan I propose, and hence only refer to its outlines. Yet, judging from what little I have seen in another hemisphere—Ireland—I think it would work well here.

I think that I shall correspond with our Representative, Mr. Mott, upon this subject, because I have confidence in his judgment, and know him to be devoted to our cause.

You will now please reflect upon the suggestions I have made, and let me have your opinion upon their propriety; and if you have any printed blank constitutions, send me a few of them, together with such advice as your experience may suggest, and I will go to work here with a heart and energy for the success of the cause. Still, do not think that we can do much in this county, because its population is very small at present, and without the promise of much present increase; yet, little as it is, it is an object to have it conscientiously right; and, without despising the day of small things, we must labor for the results we wish to bring about.

Mr. Hale got five votes in this county for President in 1852, and Mr. Chase got two hundred and forty-nine majority for Governor of Ohio at the last election. The world moves; let us not despair. Now as to my queries.

1. How many local Associations have been organized?
2. What is the aggregate number of the members of the different Associations at present?

THE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS FRIENDS.

The State of New York voted for General Pierce, by we don't know how many thousand majority, in 1852; and, at the end of three years, there is not so much as the fraction of any one of the score of parties in the Empire State, which supports his Administration.

It has been frequently asserted that the Softs would adhere to the Administration as long as there remains a dollar of patronage to bestow; but this remark, which will doubtless prove true of the office-holders, is unjust to the masses. The ultra Pro-Slavery character of Government has at length alienated the rank and file of the Softs, and constrained even their unscrupulous leaders to speak out in disapprobation of the course of policy pursued by General Pierce and his Cabinet.

The controversy, commenced some weeks ago, between the Washington *Union* and the Albany *Atlas*, and followed up by that between the *Union* and John Van Buren, has resulted in an open and thorough severance of the tie between the Administration and its New York friends.

The latter have been slow to learn what John Davis told Charles Sumner, that "Slavery rules everything in Washington." If they had not been strangely infatuated, they might have anticipated the character of the Administration of General Pierce, from the day he appointed Jefferson Davis to a place in his Cabinet. Davis was distinguished, while in the Senate, for his ultra Pro-Slavery views, preferring even disunion to the late Compromise measures, which he resisted to the last moment. He was the most uncompromising champion of Slavery in the Senate, and evidently aimed to combine in himself the logic of Calhoun, with the imperious will of Jackson. He never yielded an inch. He ran his Pro-Slavery demands to the highest standard of Southern orthodoxy, and supported them with marked ability. Although he refrained from the use of coarse language, his manner was harsh and imperious, and insultingly dictatorial. Such was the man, an avowed Disunionist, whom General Pierce took into his counsels, and to whom he committed the right arm of the nation's defences. A regiment of supple doughfaces, such as Marcy and Cushing, would not counterbalance the weight of such a man. The Softs must own to great ignorance, in pretending to be deceived in the character of the Administration.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM ATCHISON.

Among the letters addressed to the Committee of Invitation for the King's Mountain (N. C.) Celebration, we find the following:

Platte City, Mo., *Sept.* 12, 1855.

Gentlemen: Your letter of invitation, requesting my attendance at the Celebration of the Battle of King's Mountain, has been received. It will be altogether inconvenient for me to be present on that occasion. I have certain duties, both private and public, to discharge at home. The Battle of King's Mountain was fought by the Whigs, under the lead of Campbell, McDowell, Shelby, Sevier, and Williams, against the forces under the gallant Ferguson. We have a similar foe to encounter in Kansas, on the first Monday of October next—the "border ruffians," such as fought with McDowell, Shelby, &c., on the one hand, and the Abolitionists, such men as fought with Ferguson, on the other. We (the "border ruffians") have the whole power of the Northern States to contend with, single-handed and alone, without assistance, and almost without sympathy, from any quarter; yet we are undismayed. Thus far have we been victorious; and, with the help of God, we will still continue to conquer.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the kind expression in the concluding paragraph of your letter—"three cheers for Atchison and Kansas!" I have read this paragraph to sundry of the "border ruffians," and their eyes sparkle; their arms are nerved. We have been acting on the defensive altogether. The contest with us is one of life and death, and it will be so with you and your institution if we fail. Atchison, Stringfellow, and the "border ruffians" of Missouri, fill a column of each Abolition paper published in the North; abuse most foul and falsehood unblushing is poured out upon us; and yet we have no advocate in the Southern press, and yet we receive no assistance from the Southern States. But the time will shortly come, when that assistance must and will be rendered. The stake the "border ruffians" are playing for is a mighty one. If Kansas is abolitionized, Missouri ceases to be a slave State, and New Mexico becomes a free State; California remains a free State; but if we secure Kansas as a slave State, Missouri is secure; New Mexico and Southern California, if not all of it, become slave States. In a word, the prosperity or the ruin of the whole South depends on the Kansas struggle.

Your obedient servant, D. R. Atchison.

It will be seen that Atchison fully corroborates all the charges of interference by Missourians in the affairs of Kansas. It will require a face of bronze to deny it, after reading this letter. "Thus far," he says, "have *we* been victorious, and, by the help of God, we will still continue to conquer." He claims it throughout the letter to be the peculiar business of Missouri to introduce Slavery into Kansas; and while he complains of the abuse heaped upon the "border ruffians" by the Northern Abolitionists, he pretends not to deny the charge of interference in Kansas affairs, but justifies and glories in it.

We must do Atchison the justice to say that this letter is creditable to his sagacity. We concur with him entirely in the opinion, that "If Kansas is abolitionized, Missouri ceases to be a slave State, and New Mexico becomes a free State; *California* remains a free State; but if we secure Kansas as a slave State, Missouri is secure; New Mexico and Southern California, if not all of it, become slave States."

Atchison is a coarse, hard-swearing, tobacco-chewing fellow, but he evidently knows what he is about. We trust that our readers will weigh well every word of this letter. It is full of significance. It reveals the whole plot of the Pro-Slavery party, and the motives which led to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It should nerve the arm of every Northern freeman to renewed efforts in behalf of Freedom in Kansas.

"MODERN PILGRIMS."

By Mr. George Wood, of Washington.

The interest created by the announcement of this new book, by Phillips, Sampson, & Co., as manifested in the leading literary and religious papers of this country, has rarely been equalled. The Boston *Transcript*, the New York *Observer*, *Evangelist*, and *Examiner*, and many other journals, have all had similar articles to the one we cut out of the New York *Herald* of the 30th October: *

"George Wood, the author of 'Peter Schlemihl in America,' will publish next week a new work, under the title of 'The Modern Pilgrims,' in which the tribulations and embarrassments of the wanderer among modern *isms*, and the difficulties to be encountered before the discovering of any essential truth in either of them, will be set forth in his best manner. 'The Modern Pilgrims' will make more noise among the philosophers and theologians than any other book of the year."

POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

We find the following in the New York *Times* of November 1st. It might be thought a hoax, but for the fact that one of the signers of the letter, Mackay, avows the authorship in the *Times* of the 2d inst. He gives his residence, and appears to think that the censure of the *Times* will only increase the influence of the "American Union Club."

POLITICAL STRIKERS.

It seems that the *Strikers* are around, and trying to impress the ballot-box into the service of the pocket. We have received the following letter from the gentleman to whom it was addressed, but we are unacquainted with the parties whose signatures are attached:

New York, *Oct.* 23, 1855.

Sir: At a meeting of the "American Union Club," held October 22, you were duly nominated to the office of member of Assembly from the Third and Fifth Wards, to be supported by them at the ensuing election.

If you conclude to accept this nomination, you are hereby informed that a resolution has been adopted by the Club, assessing you $75.

We have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servants,

William H. Mackay,
Alexander Lawrence, } *Secretaries.*

Joseph Harrison, Esq.

New York enjoys no very enviable reputation for political integrity, but we shall be greatly surprised if this case of unblushing knavery and corruption goes unrebuked. If so open an attempt to prostitute the elective franchise is not punishable by the laws, there is great need for amendment in the criminal code. We take it for granted, from the name, that this Club is a Know Nothing concern, and it may be regarded as a natural offshoot of a party projected by Ned Buntline, and bound together by secret oaths.

COL. KINNEY'S COLONY.

If the following statement can be relied on, Col. Kinney, with his colonists, seems to be getting on quietly. No doubt, the object of Kinney and his friends is to establish Slavery in Central America, and we are unable to understand why his scheme should meet with disfavor from the Administration. When he first came to Washington, last winter, his project was approved by the Government and its organs, the *Union* and *Star*. Subsequently, the *Star* made war upon the Colonel, and it at length turned out that the Administration was seriously bent on frustrating his plans. Perhaps it was feared that an attempt to establish Slavery in Central America would meet with assistance from England and France. The Administration have no stomach for a fight with the great Powers of Europe.

We suggest to Colonel Kinney to abandon his absurd plan of an Anglo-American Colony in the tropics, and that he turn it into a Colony of free people of color—in a word, into an Africo-American Colony.

According to all accounts, the population of the whole region is already for the most part colored—that is to say, a mixture of Indians, Negroes, and Spaniards, and the prejudices against color which exist in this country are unknown. Mr. Thayer, Colonel Kinney's Secretary of State, has given an amusing account, in the New York *Evening Post*, of a dancing party, in which all colors were represented. These people are misgoverned, and therefore indolent and unthrifty. With an infusion of American colored men, accustomed to labor, and guided by the energy and practical wisdom of the Colonel, they would soon build up a flourishing free State.

Such a Colony would be an admirable home for emancipated slaves, who are not permitted to remain on their native soil. We have observed, for a year or two past, a growing disposition to emancipation; and if a convenient asylum for the emancipated were provided, the number would doubtless increase.

Leading Anti-Slavery men have lately thrown out the hint that the funds of the Federal Government may properly be applied to the extinction of Slavery, should the South be willing to receive aid from that quarter. They claim no right to interfere with Slavery in the States; but if the Southern States choose to receive such aid, we have little doubt that it will be extended liberally and cordially.

How would it do to purchase the fugitive slaves by the Government, and colonize them, instead of sending them back into Slavery?

GOV. KINNEY'S PLANTATION—A NEW GOLD REGION—TREATY WITH INDIANS.

A late number of the *Central American* has the following paragraph:

On Thursday last, we visited Gov. Kinney's plantation. It is situated about three quarters of a mile from town, on the opposite shore of the lagoon. We allude to the patch of ground selected by him for his own amusement, and as a test of the adaptation of the soil to different kinds of grains and vegetables.

The Governor arrived here on the 16th of July; it was some two or three weeks before he cleared away the thick undergrowth, and planted the seed. We brought away a fine lot of roasting ears, beans, &c. The native fruit trees left standing are full of fruit; and thus, in the short space of about two months, the Governor is in the enjoyment of garden luxuries that would have required years to realize at the North. Three good crops of corn may be taken off the same ground in one year.

From the following extract of a letter of Messrs. Shepherd & Haley, dated Oct. 10, the position of affairs at San Juan del Norte will be understood:

"Since Col. Kinney's arrival at this port, 16th July last, we and others have constantly watched, with considerable interest and anxiety, his movements and operations. We had the pleasure to witness that he not only maintained his little band of followers in a state of respectability, and perfect peace and good order, but kept them constantly and industriously employed in building, opening roads, experimental planting, exploring for minerals and eligible sites for plantations, surveying, &c.; in fact, they have never been idle, but always occupied in doing one work or another, for the benefit of the place, the Colonel himself being ever foremost in setting the example, with the saw, the hammer, or the spade. We have been informed, on reliable authority, that this mining party have already discovered, in the district of Indian river, a few miles northwest of this port, gold dust; and they are satisfied that, upon getting to the bed rock, the yield of gold will be so remunerative as to compete with diggings of California; and they are now preparing to work those locations, at the same time establishing and working plantations in the same locality. This discovery brings gold-fields within nine days of New York.

"Since the Colonel has been elected Governor by a majority of the voters of this town, he has opened an elementary school, the first that has been attempted here, where the children of parents not in circumstances to pay are educated gratis, no more being paid by the remaining children than sufficient to pay the expenses of the schoolmaster. This, you will see, is the first step towards civilization. Col. Kinney has also opened a subscription list for the building of a church, which we hope ere long to see filled up, so as to enable him to contract for the erection of a sacred edifice. On the resurrection of this town like a Phœnix from its ashes, and which we hope soon to witness, many public buildings will be indispensably requisite; and it is to be hoped that, as the town extends and population increases, there will be no difficulty in raising funds for the erection of all needful public works, and to enable this town to rank among the civilized population of the American continent.

"Col. Kinney has concluded a treaty with the Indians on his possessions, which will prove of the utmost importance and benefit, because it will enable them, through the means and assistance of the Indians, to lay open with greater ease the resources of the country, with which the latter acknowledged themselves to be intimately acquainted. The Colonel is daily expecting more men from the States; on their arrival, the aspect of things will be changed; roads will be cleared, and many other things will be done, which the want of labor now prevents."

GOVERNOR SHANNON.

Governor Shannon, of Kansas, has written a letter to the *Herald of Freedom*, in vindication of his course as Governor of the Territory, from which we make the following extract:

"It follows, from what have said, that I was bound to consider and treat the Legislature as a legal body; and that, if right in this, their acts, passed within the scope of their power, were binding alike on the officers and citizens of the Territory. If these premises are correct, it follows, also, that all public meetings or movements, on the part of the citizens of the Territory, which do not look to a change of these laws in a legal or regular way, but to nullification and resistance to the enforcement and execution of them, are unauthorized, and calculated to excite riots, breaches of the peace, disorders of the most alarming and fearful character, and to lead to measures subversive of the very frame-work of civil government.

"It was in view of movements of this kind that I remarked, in my Westport speech, that I regretted to see a disposition, on the part of some of the citizens of the Territory, to nullify the Legislature, and all the laws passed by that body. As an executive officer, I have nothing to do with the expediency or inexpediency of laws that have actually been passed by competent authority; that belongs to the Legislature, not to either the judicial or executive departments of the Government. If laws have been passed by the Legislature not within the scope of their legal authority, the judical department furnishes a plain and adequate remedy; if they have passed laws within the scope of their legal power, but which are oppressive, the remedy is to be found at the ballot-box. Nothing will justify a revolutionary movement, unless it is great and extraordinary oppression, and then only after all peaceful remedies have been tried, and failed. I have now said all I desire to say in relation to my remarks at Westport, and in vindication of their correctness. My sole object is to set myself right before the public."

The inexpressible meanness and hypocrisy of this letter is palpable to every one who knows anything of the circumstances. "If laws have been passed by the Legislature, not within the scope of their legal authority," he says, "the judicial department furnishes a plain and adequate remedy." What mockery! The associates and accomplices of Atchison and Stringfellow furnish a remedy for their outrages! Shannon knows that Judges for Kansas were selected for their known reckless advocacy of Slavery, as he was for his equally well-known sycophancy to the slave-breeders. He knew that these very Judges had already sanctioned the outrageous usurpation of the Missouri borderers, who boldly marched into Kansas, and elected the Legislature, in violation of all law; and that the same Judges stood ready to sanction every measure of their legislation. "If," he continues, "they have passed laws within the scope of their legal power, but which are oppressive, the remedy is to be found in the ballot-box." This is, if possible, more insulting than the reference to the "judicial department." Shannon well knows that the great majority of the people of Kansas could not take an oath to support and obey the laws passed by the sham Legislature, without self-stultification. He knows that those laws punish the utterance of Anti-Slavery sentiments with death, in violation of the constitutional rights of every citizen; and if he possessed a spark of honor himself, he must know that no man of honor would take an oath to support such a system. He is, therefore, himself dead to all sense of honor, or else he meant deliberately to insult the Anti-Slavery people of Kansas. In fact, it requires a great stretch of charity to believe that a man of honor would have accepted the post of Governor of Kansas, after the dismissal of Reeder. None but a cringing sycophant would have consented to become the vile tool of Atchison and Stringfellow.

The people of Kansas have no remedy for the foul tyranny to which they have been subjected, but revolution—open resistance, at any hazard, to the reign of rowdy scoundrelism. The Federal Government, through its organ, the *Union*, has avowed its ignorance of any irregularity or injustice in the administration of affairs in Kansas; and if irregularities have occurred, it confesses its impotency and inability to remedy them. The Kansas people, therefore, have acted as it becomes brave and law-abiding citizens, in resisting a tyranny compared with which the Government of England over these Colonies, prior to the Revolution, was mild and equitable.

ALLEGED SECRET MILITARY ASSSOCIATION OF FREE-SOILERS IN KANSAS.

Curious Developments by Pat. Laughlin—Piles of Pistols, Rifles, and Sabres, Ready for Use.

From the St. Louis Republican, (Pro-Slavery,) Oct. 30.

Some days since, we published a despatch from St. Joseph, stating the discovery of the existence of a Secret Military Organization in Kansas, designed to control the affairs of that Territory, and to resist the execution of any law passed by the Territorial Legislature. Last night, we received a paper from St. Joseph, which contains the promised disclosures, and we make room for the most important portions. The disclosures are made by Pat. Laughlin, a citizen of Kansas, whose character is vouched for by well-known citizens of the Territory. He was a member of the Association, and acted with them; but, becoming satisfied of the treasonable nature of the organization, withdrew from it, and has felt himself called upon to tell all he knows about it.

We have no room for the full details of this wonderful revelation. Mr. *Pat. Laughlin* is, according to his own story, an Irishman. He joined this secret society, and was its travelling agent, for the formation of new lodges or clubs, and took a solemn oath of secrecy and fidelity. The evidence of the existence and character of the secret organization, therefore, depends on no better testimony than that of a perjured knave, who has betrayed his comrades. He says:

"But I must come to the point, and make known the object of this Society, and the manner in which it is organized. Its object is to make Kansas a free State, by force of arms, if they fail to carry their point by legal means. To effect this, they have organized a Society, or secret army, who are provided with Sharp's rifles, free of charge, (I saw many of these rifles and other equipments in Lawrence,) *by an organization in Boston*, Mass., got up for the purpose of aiding the Abolitionists in Kansas to make it a free State. From this organization, I have been informed, the Executive Committee at Lawrence have received $100,000 to defray the expenses of a State organization—a movement which is now on foot by the Free Soil Abolition party."

* * * * *

"In the Executive Committee, of which I became a member, from being introduced by ex-Governor Reeder, there was a resolution offered, which provided that every reliable State man in the Territory should be furnished with a rifle, a brace of pistols, and a sabre, *and required to take an oath to hold himself in readiness to march into service, under his superior officer, when called upon, and that he would go to the rescue of the person or property of any Free-Soiler who would be brought by force into obedience to the present laws of the Territory.*"

While we entirely disapprove of parties bound together by secret oaths and obligations, we should be glad to believe that the people of Kansas are as well prepared to defend themselves against the Missouri border ruffians as this fellow would have us believe; but, unfortunately, in this instance, "a liar is not to be believed, even when he speaks the truth." There is no reason why the Free State party should resort to secrecy, because they have openly avowed their determination to resist the execu-

tion of the Stringfellow code. For this reason, we regard the story as highly improbable.

We have little doubt that his story has been invented as an offset to the charge which we find in the St. Louis *Democrat*, that Atchison has his strikers organized into a secret association, called the "KANSAS BORDER LEAGUE."

The following paragraph is from the *Democrat* of the 22d October, a week before Pat. Laughlin's story appeared in the *Republican*; and we believe that it was by no means the first notice of the Border League:

"The 'Kansas Border League,' as all know, was a secret political society, established for the purpose of organizing companies of citizens in Missouri, who should go over in a body to the adjoining Territory, and there by their votes control the elections and select candidates of their own to fill the seats of the first Legislature. Its success made known these facts, and time has gradually unfolded the rules and regulations, the oaths and machinery, of its secret brotherhood. The genesis of the League was from Mr. Atchison, and its growth and adventure received his fatherly care. He deserted his seat in the Senate of the United States, and hurried home, to organize the first chapter of the Order in the hall of a society at the town of Parkville. Thence affiliated and subordinate councils were rapidly extended throughout the western counties of the State, and since that time the marching and the counter-marching, the votings in Kansas and the excitements in Missouri, the bans of ostracism that have been issued, and the destruction of a small opposition press that was achieved, have all become matter of history."

From the National Intelligencer.

GOVERNOR REEDER'S POSITION.

The St. Louis *Republican* gives a report of a speech delivered by Gov. Reeder at a "Free State" meeting at Lawrence, K. T., on the 9th October, the day before the election of the Free State party. He denounces in strong terms the interference of Missourians in the affairs of Kansas. The platform of the Free State men he laid down as follows:

"We proclaim by our platform of principles that we demand the right of free speech, free suffrage, and free government; that we desire to build up here another great republic, by free white labor, and to exclude, as we have the right to do, the institution of Slavery, which we believe would blight our progress and our prosperity. We say to our brethren of the Union who differ from us, that although we might deny their right to hold slaves in the Territory, yet in the spirit of liberality we will find no fault that they bring their slaves along, when they come to enter into fraternal contest at the ballot-box, for determining the character of our institutions, and will recommend that their slaves be in the mean time unmolested; and we declare that, when free institutions shall be established, the right of property which they claim in the slaves within our bounds shall be treated with that moderation and charity which should exist between brethren of a great Republic, who differ in opinion."

He then goes on to review the proceedings of the late Legislature. That Legislature, he says, represents the opponents of the Free State men; but he would not libel the Pro-Slavery men of the Territory by saying that it represented them. It represented only those Missourians who elected them, and whom he regarded as their principal and almost only opponents. Of the Legislature he says:

"This Legislature have essayed to perpetuate the power they usurped; have refused us the privilege of electing even our most inferior officers; have taken away from us the ballot-box, or surrounded it with odious qualifications and restrictions; have brought officers from a foreign State to govern us; and, in the omnipotence of their self-esteem, have repealed the pre-emption laws, the naturalization laws, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and have ended by invading the Constitution of the United States."

Referring to the outrages perpetrated by the Missourians, he remarks that the Free State men have returned good for evil, liberality for oppression, and have shown that they are determined to have the wrong all upon one side, all the right upon the other; but mistaken is the man who concludes from this that they are disposed tamely to wear the yoke of Slavery. On this point he says:

"You have sounded the first note of resistance by a bold and stern defiance of the tyranny of *the Kansas Missouri Legislature*, and you now await, in calm deliberation, the issue of Congressional action, to learn if peaceful remedies are to be had; and when all these fail, and our ballot-box is again opened for the choice of another Legislature, with no protection but our own arms, with what bitter scorn would you curse the man that would not rather coolly spill the heart's best blood by its side, than see it again in the hands of armed invaders!

"We are told that no peaceful remedy awaits us, that the Congress of this great nation will coolly pass us over, to become the slaves of brute force, and that disunion must follow any measure of relief for us. This cry of 'disunion' has become stale and disgusting. The wish is always father to the thought, and I have always observed that whenever it comes, whether from the fanatic of the North or the nullifier of the South, it is accompanied by a blow at the Constitution, from those whose bad hearts prompt its utterance. It is a vain and empty threat by men who, judging perhaps from the idiosyncrasy of their own organization, believe in the efficacy of threats as a means of moving men. Our Union has been too strong for Northern fanaticism or Southern nullification; for the filibustering after Cuba as well as Canada; and, my word for it, it will be too strong for the assailants at the ballot-box. But if it is so; if it cannot secure to the citizens of the Union self-government, free speech, and free suffrage; if it has become so hoary in corruption and decay that it can no longer subserve the eminent and essential purposes for which the sages of the Revolution erected it, no threat of its dissolution from the men who would enslave us should compel us to bow our necks to the yoke and give our limbs to the shackles."

Gov. Reeder says that the prospects of the Free State men have improved at every step, their numbers have increased, and their organization grown in strength and efficiency. They are, he says, in a decided preponderance in point of numbers, and many Pro-Slavery men and slaveholders have joined their ranks, disgusted at the doctrines and practices of the Missourians. He concludes as follows:

"These are cheering signs indeed, and give us high assurance that Providence, in its wisdom, has decided the fate of Kansas; that our institutions are fixed, far beyond the power of small demagogues and their misguided followers to change or affect; and that, in due time, instead of congratulating each other on our prospects and our hopes, we shall be rejoicing over the consummation; and, instead of my assurance to the few hundred persons within these walls, the shout of thousands shall boom along our lovely plains, and the blazing bonfires from every hill shall announce that our work is done, and that Kansas is free!"

FROM KANSAS.

CRESCENT HILL, KANSAS TERRITORY,
10th month 18, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

* * * * * * *

But what we ask of you in this crisis is, to send men to our National Councils of tried and known integrity—men of nerve and will, who know their duty, and will dare to do it. Then we ask of you to sustain those men, and not only to sustain them, but let them know that they must do your bidding; let them know that they are not to sell your rights for some paltry office. We want men who cannot be bought with money nor bribed with office. This is what we ask of you; will you act?

We know it is said by some, that Governor Reeder sanctioned the Missouri outrages, by granting certificates to men elected by the invaders. But what could he do? He had issued his proclamation for the election, and prescribed rules of the strictest character for holding it. The returns were regularly made, according to those rules; and how could he go behind those returns, to inquire the character of the voters, who acted under sworn officers? Beside, on the day for issuing certificates, the Governor was surrounded by an armed mob, thirsting for his blood, and swearing, by everything hard, to spill it, if he did not give certificates. Governor Reeder acted nobly, and stood his ground in the face of danger, for what he believed to be right. He, no doubt, believed the vote to be illegal, but he had no tangible evidence to show it. The fault was ours; we should have contested the election; but the outrage was so monstrous and astounding, that we were confounded, and at a loss to act. For this error, we trust you will pardon us, and act accordingly.

One thing more, and I shall have done. It must be evident, to every thinking freeman, that it is of vital importance to us that the Free-Soil press in Kansas be sustained. There are several Pro-Slavery papers in the Territory, which appear to be well sustained. Shall the friends of Freedom do less, or suffer one paper to fail? Perhaps we have too many in the field, but let us make an effort to sustain them. This, the people of the Territory cannot do. We are at most but a feeble folk, and very few of us in a way of making money; we must then look to the States, and shall we look in vain?

We have at Lawrence the *Herald of Freedom*, the *Free State*, and the *Kansas Tribune*, all reliable Free State papers, and worthy of support, but all now printed at a heavy weekly expense to the publishers. This is wrong; those men who are devoting their time and energies to the cause of Freedom should not be permitted to waste their substance in this way; and surely they need not, if those who are fully able would but contribute a little of their abundance. Of the *Kansas Freeman* of Topeka, and the Council City *Banner*, I cannot speak as to their merits, but presume they are worthy. I have no other interest in any paper in Kansas than that which the cause of humanity elicits; and what I have said in this connection is without the knowledge or solicitation of any editor in Kansas. I appeal to a liberal public on their behalf, and trust I shall not appeal in vain.

This is from one who heartily desires the civil and religious liberty of every human being. RICHARD MENDENHALL.

RESULT OF THE ELECTION IN KANSAS.

From the Kansas Herald of Freedom, (Extra,) Oct. 20.

The following is the vote, as far as received, cast at the election on the 9th of October. No person was allowed to vote who had not resided in the Territory for thirty days immediately preceding the election. We will endeavor to give the official vote in our next regular issue. The vote is much smaller than it would otherwise have been, owing to the general sickness at that time throughout the Territory. It is probable that some remained away from the polls, apprehensive of involving themselves in difficulty by coming in collision with "the powers that be," and still others for want of notice; while along the border, and in some of the strongholds of Pro-Slaveryism, no polls were opened, fearful of causing a breach of the peace. We are confident there are not less than 4,500 Free State voters in the Territory, and possibly 1,000 Pro-Slavery voters, though our impression is that there are not over 800 of the latter.

VOTE FOR MR. REEDER.

Lawrence	557	Little Sugar Creek	41
Blanton	77	Big Sugar Creek	28
Palmyra	16	Little Osage	16
Bloomington	116	Wyandot	38
Benieca	50	Easton	63
Heberling	7	Grasshopper	45
Big Springs	35	Pleasant Hill	43
Topeca	131	Hickory Point	10
Tecumseh	31	J. Crane's	30
Brownville	24	Oecna	39
Lane	55	Palermo	40
Fish's Store	7	Doniphan	48
Staunton	44	Harding's	33
Osawatomie	74	Burr Oak	28
Potawatomie	56	Big Blue	77
Rock Creek	30	Waubonsa	26
St. Mary's	19	Iowa Point	76
Silver Lake	28	Columbia	20
Pawneo	76	Scott's Town	32
Council City	62	Clark	12
Ridge	48	Hampden	33
Leavenworth	503	Delaware City	40

Total number of votes cast - - 2,864

VOTE FOR MR. WHITFIELD.

The vote for Mr. Whitfield, as published in the *Kickapoo Pioneer*, is as follows:

Calhoun	29	Linn	67
Tecumseh	52	Marysville	171
One Hundred and		Wolf River	53
Ten	23	Iowa	30
Fort Riley	28	Wayne	66
Peola	220	Washington	59
Atchison	131	Brown	4
Grasshopper	7	Aloxandria	42
Mt. Pleasant	54	Wyandot	240
Yellow Springs	103	Kickapoo	150
Lecompton	101	Delaware	239
Lawrence	42	Leavenworth	212
Franklin	86	Shawneo	190
Osawkee	42	——	15
Richmond	6		

Total number of votes cast - - 2,462

By examining the above returns, it will be observed that the principal vote of the Pro-Slavery party is polled at ten precincts, all of which places, save Leavenworth, are sparsely settled. These ten precincts poll 1,757 votes, two-thirds of the entire Pro-Slavery strength. If this vote was thoroughly purged—as it will be before a Congressional committee—it would be found that less than 1,000 votes of *actual* residents of Kansas were polled for Mr. Whitfield.

GEN. SCOTT'S BACK PAY.

The New York *Express*, of a recent date, says:

"The news that Gen. Scott's claim for back pay, and for increased future pay, has been allowed, turns out a mistake. The shadow of justice has been awarded, but the substance denied; the word of promise kept to the ear, but broken to the hope. The Attorney General has fully decided in the General's favor the *principle* of the law. The Secretary of War, however, had carefully reserved to *himself* the interpretation and the adjustment, and has used the authority thus reserved to defeat the claim almost entirely.

"After proceeding to give a short history of the case, the article in the *Express* concludes with these significant words:

"We trust, and are inclined to believe, that the General will not stoop to accept a pittance so far below his claims, his merits, the intentions of the law, and the wishes of the people, awarded under such circumstances."

We have not sufficiently investigated the subject to give an opinion upon the justice of the course pursued in this matter, by the President and Secretary of War. The *Union*, of Sunday, contains a letter from the President, vindicating his course in the premises; but a thorough understanding of the case requires a patient investigation, and comparison of numerous statutes and army regulations, which are only alluded to by the letter, and hence its reasoning is not very clear or satisfactory to the general reader. When the propriety of conferring the title of Lieut. General upon General Scott was under consideration, it was well understood in Washington, that the scheme was to give him a large sum of money, with as small a sacrifice of personal popularity on the part of those who voted for it, as possible; and to accomplish this object, the grade of Lieut. General was created, to be filled by the President, with the emoluments attached. If the American people wish to give General Scott thirty or forty thousand dollars for conquering Mexico, their representatives should vote the money openly; and if not, not.

The only satisfactory solution of the question will be, through a direct vote of Congress, upon the proper construction of the law creating the title.

BREADSTUFFS IN FRANCE.

From the Paris correspondence of the *National Intelligencer*, we take the following extract:

"The public mind is gloomy, and it is now admitted that bread will continue to be dear, which is a most unfavorable item in this country. The official estimate of seven millions of hectolitres (nineteen millions of bushels) as the deficit of the crop of wheat, is underrated. In the community, the lowest estimate of the deficit is nine millions of hectolitres, though some estimate it even higher than this. It is now stated that the wheat crop in Algeria has been so abundant that it will present a surplus of four millions of hectolitres. If this should be so, it will be a most important relief.

"The receipts of wheat from the Black Sea being cut off, makes a vast difference in the foreign supply. At the single port of Marseilles, the arrivals even during 1854, during part of which year the war had already commenced, amounted to 72,000 tons, or nearly three millions of bushels of wheat. Besides this, the Atlantic ports of France received very large supplies, Italy also heavy shipments, and England still larger quantities, all from the same quarter.

"I sincerely hope Europe may the spared the storm that seems to be gathering; but when we see provisions dear, the people discontented, taxes increased, money scarce, new loans required, manufactures curtailed, commerce languishing, trade of all kinds depressed, and a severe and bloody war existing, the end of which no one can predict, we need not be surprised that the public mind is anxious and alarmed. In France, much, I may say everything, depends on the life of the extraordinary man now at the head of the nation. If he falls, under the knife of the assassin or otherwise, none of his name would mount his throne; he alone among them all can hold the helm in times like these. Again, the loss of a great battle in the Crimea would shake his throne to the very foundations. The memory of the great Napoleon is idolized by the great body of the French people, and one of the great holds that Louis Napoleon has on the French is the fact that he is 'the nephew of his uncle.' But even the great Napoleon, notwithstanding all he did for France, and his great and wonderful victories, was nevertheless abandoned by the people when he was unfortunate, and so it would be again with the present ruler."

TEXAS.

The Texans profess to be greatly plagued by the Indians; and their provocation has been so great, that they have raised a little army of some hundred men, and invaded Mexico! But it seems that they have been expelled by the Mexicans and Indians, and are making a great hue and cry about it. A little time ago, they boasted that they were going to send a force into Mexico to assist the revolutionists, with a view to the annexation of the Northern Provinces. Having been disgracefully expelled, they wish to make believe that they are the most misused people on the face of the earth.

By the arrival of the Star of the West, on Saturday afternoon, we have accounts of the movements of Colonel Walker in Nicaragua, from which it appears that the said noted adventurer has taken possession of Granada, the capital of the State. After an engagement, in which the Government forces lost fifteen men, Walker was waited on by the citizens of Granada, and offered the Presidency of the Republic. He declined the honor in favor of General Corral, who was then absent at Rivas, and to whom the proposal was carried by Colonel Wheeler, the United States Minister to Central America. Colonel Wheeler was forcibly detained at Rivas for a couple of days, but, threatening an attack upon the town, was released. General Corral finally ratified the surrendering of Granada, and a treaty of peace was signed by the contending parties. The Uncle Sam brought down a party of filibusters from San Francisco, under Colonel Fry and Parker H. French, who, after arriving at Virgin Bay, embarked on board the Virgin, with the other passengers and specie, intending to take San Carlos by surprise. Meeting with a decided resistance, the design was abandoned, and the invading party proceeded to join the forces of Walker at Granada. The California passengers, both on the outward and homeward-bound steamers, were fired on by the Government soldiers, and several lives were lost. Tranquillity, according to the last accounts, was partially restored, and no further immediate trouble was anticipated.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

CATHOLICS IN THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In the *Era* of the 1st November is a statement, purporting to be from the Census Returns for 1850, exhibiting the number of Roman Catholics in all of our Southern States, excepting California. In the report for Louisiana and Maryland, there is a very great error in each case. The number in Louisiana is put down at 67,308, and in Maryland at 51,011; while the "Catholic Metropolitan Almanac" for the same year reports, on returns from the bishops of the dioceses, for Louisiana 170,000, and for Maryland 100,000—making a difference in the one of 102,692, and in the other of 48,989—and in the aggregate, 151,681. This added to the sum of the statement in the *Era*, (364,492,) supposing the others to be correct, will make the total, in the fourteen States named, of 516,173 Roman Catholics, instead of 364,492.

Please insert the above correction, and oblige your respectful and obedient servant,

J. F. POLK.

FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

SLIPPERYROCK, BUTLER CO., PENN.,
October 29, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Although the Slaveocracy elected their Canal Commissioner in Pennsylvania this fall by a plurality, they are decidedly in the minority in this State. The whole moral force of the Commonwealth must be arrayed against them, for the perfidious manner in which this plurality was secured. Many circumstances combined to insure success, which I cannot think can ever be made available again; and not the least of these were the Liquor Leagues, organized in almost every county in the State, to sustain and promote the liquor traffic. These leagues operated with an energy and secrecy, to the effectuation of one idea, far surpassing the Know Nothings. This they were enabled to do more effectually, by contrasting their secret movements with those of their opponents, whose proscriptive course, towards Catholics and all foreigners, was so magnified as to completely enshroud everything else, and beguile an extensive foreign population into the support of that party which seemed to flatter most their pretensions to equality. Believing the secret Order capable of almost anything, they were easily seduced into a union with the Radicals, to inflict chastisement on those whom they were led to believe their enemies, while they forgot the fact that thereby they were elevating to power those whose course of policy renders them ignoble vassals, equalled only by the code of Slavery in the South.

Thousands of them see now what they have done, and where they were blindly led, and declare that, for the future, their action shall be, not to inflict chastisement, but to secure the carrying out of fundamental principles, without which Governments are a farce.

Every man who thinks so, must see that this is the only mode to pursue. The success of neither of the other parties aids the cause which we advocate; but, on the contrary, the elevation of either, by Republican votes, detracts from the stability of our own, and gives to the opposition that of which they never fail to take advantage, viz: grounds to reproach us for a want of firmness and sincerity in the cause we profess to favor. Hence the opposing parties strive to maintain their organizations, and annually derive aid and comfort from those with whom they have neither interest nor sympathy. The only course, then, by which we can ever expect to succeed, is, to let every party stand on its own platform. We can have no sympathy with those who seek to subvert our positions; and why, then, should we strengthen their hands to do evil? Let it be, from this day, henceforth and forever, understood that the Republican party throughout the Union will stand by its own principles, its organization, and its candidates, discarding all prejudices as to religion or birthplace, and our cause is one that is as sure to prosper as the sun is to rise and set in the heavens. I am gratified to be able to assure you that in this corner of Pennsylvania the Republican cause is in the ascendant. The madness and folly manifested by the lit[illegible] minds which control the Know Nothing Order in this quarter, the Representative elect from the 22d district among the number, convinces the most incredulous that nothing is to be expected from that organization, to stay the grasping strides of the Slavery Propagandists, or the desecration of the judicial ermine, when party ascendency is at stake. The "peculiar" tenets of Know Nothingism, and the "peculiar" interests of the three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, are so peculiarly befitting the advocates of the doctrines, that an effectual separation is so extremely doubtful, that the principles of the equal and inalienable rights of *all* men, set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and maintained in the Constitution, could be intrusted to the care of such a combination with but doubtful propriety. The only safety, then, for our cause, is to strike for a firm and unfaltering organization on the Republican basis; and, with our eyes fixed upon the star that leads to victory, turn neither to the right, nor to the left, for the rise or downfall of either of the other parties, but firmly adhering to what we believe to be right, labor for the success of our own. J.

THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

This body is in daily session at the Capitol, in this city, in the discharge of its important duties, and it is easy to preceive that it will have abundant materials for the exercise of all the qualities of industry, patient research, and high judicial acumen. The important Florida claims, to which we referred some time ago, are now up for consideration, and the argument has been progressing since Saturday. These claims arise under the treaty of 1819 with Spain, by which Florida was acquired by the United States, and a part of what is now the State of Texas was ceded to Spain. The ninth article provided that there should be a reciprocal renunciation of certain enumerated claims, on the part of the respective citizens or subjects of each country upon the other. These claims were settled in pursuance of the tenth article, which provided that the United States, exonerating Spain from all demands on account of such claims, should make satisfaction for the same to our own citizens to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars. But the last clause of the ninth article provided for satisfaction by the United States for injuries, if any, which, by process of law, should be established to have been suffered by Spanish officers and individual Spanish inhabitants, by the then late operations of the American army in Florida. It is under this clause that the claims now before the Court have arisen. The amount claimed exceeds over a million of dollars.—*Nat. Int.*

ARRIVAL OF THE BALTIC.

ONE WEEK LATER INTELLIGENCE.

Important War News.

The Russians Repulsed from Kars, with great Slaughter—Kinburn Captured by the Allies—Two Russian Towns near Kertsch destroyed—Movements to Surround the Russian Army in the Crimea—Vast Stores found in Sebastopol—Bank of England Rates of Interest Raised to Six and Seven Per Cent.

The Collins mail steamer Baltic, Captain Comstock, arrived at New York on Saturday.

The Baltic left Liverpool at 3.25 on the afternoon of Saturday, the 20th of October, and encountered strong westerly gales and heavy seas for eleven consecutive days, being repeatedly reduced to a speed of only *three miles* per hour. At midnight, on Wednesday, October 24th, when in latitude 52, longitude 25, passed the steamer Pacific. On Tuesday, the 30th, fifty miles northeast of Cape Race, saw a large iceberg.

The steamer Ericsson left Southampton for New York on Friday, the 19th of October.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

Despatches from Prince Gortschakoff to Prince Paskiewitch confirm the news of a simultaneous concentric advance of the Allies from Eupatoria, Baidar, Kertsch, and Kinburn, with the intent of surrounding and cutting off the Russian forces.

Lord Paumure has received intelligence that Sir Colin Campbell has been sent to Eupatoria, with a considerable force of infantry and artillery.

The Russian Government has received the following telegraphic report from Prince Gortschakoff:

"*Crimea, Oct.* 15.—The enemy abandoned this morning the valley of the Upper Belhek, and retreated to the heights between that valley and that of Baidar. He was induced to retreat by our movements on Hauri and Albat."

The army at Eupatoria is said to have occupied three important mountain passes. In the cavalry action near Eupatoria, General d'Allonville had only twelve squadrons under his orders, while the Russians had nineteen.

By accounts of the 13th, from the Crimea, the advanced posts of the Allies were, on the 12th, within five leagues of Baktchiserai. The Russians were retiring slowly. Everything leads to the belief that General Liprandi intends to defend the line of the Belbek, and to rest upon the corps commanded by Prince Gortschakoff.

The battle which would definitely decide the possession of this ground was expected shortly to take place.

Other accounts state that the Russians have surrounded the north side of Sebastopol with a chain of new fortifications, and placed it in a state to support the sick. All the plateaus on the north side, it is said, are covered with redoubts and earthworks, and, on the line of the Belbek, new works, constructed in the form of the Mamelon, have been raised.

The Allies are extensively engaged in road-making and hut-building, not only along the plateau of the Chersonese, but all along the Tchernaya line up to Alsu. The line of the railway has been adopted for the main road from Balaklava to the camps in the neighborhood of Sebastopol.

The *Daily News* says: "We believe that there is no doubt of the fact that General Simpson has resigned his command in the Crimea, and has recommended General Eyre as his successor. The Government, however, have declined to accept General Simpson's resignation."

VAST STORES DISCOVERED IN SEBASTOPOL.

A letter from Sebastopol of the 2d ultimo, received in Paris, states that the English have found in the Karahelnaia 2,222 pieces of cannon, 390,000 bombs and round shot, 30,000 tons of coal, 3,000,000 rations, engines, anchors, and metals, valued at £70,000, beside arms and clothing.

THE CAVALRY ENCOUNTER NEAR EUPATORIA.

The cavalry affair at Eupatoria, briefly alluded to by telegraph in the last despatches, is thus described by Marshal Pelissier, in a despatch published in the *Moniteur*:

"A brilliant cavalry engagement took place on the 29th of September, at Koughill, (five leagues northeast of Eupatoria,) in which the Russian cavalry under General Korf was completely defeated. The action inaugurates very auspiciously the series of operations of which Eupatoria will now be the pivot. As the result of the action, we have taken six guns, (three cannon and three mortars,) twelve caissons, and one field forge, with their horses and harness; 169 prisoners, of whom one is an officer; and 250 horses. The enemy left on the field about fifty killed, among them Colonel Andreawski, who has the reputation of being a cavalry officer of great merit. We have six killed and twenty-nine wounded."

The Russian account states that the Russian force concerned in this action was a corps of observation, consisting of a regiment of lancers, and a battery of horse artillery, under General Korf, and at another point a regiment of lancers, commanded by General Tervelensky. They had instructions to fall back, if attacked by a superior force. General Korf having lost sight of the enemy, who were pursuring Tervelensky's lancers, halted and caused his men to dismount. Not having placed videttes in proper order, Korf was surprised by between 2,000 and 3,000 of the French cavalry approaching suddenly on his rear and right flank, and he had neither time to get his force in order, nor to prepare for a combat. The lancers were therefore compelled to scatter, and fell back fighting. Loss, 150 lancers, a subaltern officer, six guns, and some of the gunners.

THE ALLIED EXPEDITION IN THE BLACK SEA—BOMBARDMENT OF KINBURN.

The correspondence received from the Crimea describes the sailing of a grand expedition, consisting of eighty ships, with 15,000 French and nearly 4,000 British troops, from Balaklava, for a destination imperfectly known in the camp. Telegraphs, however, of a later date, have intimated that the expedition made its appearance, but an [illegible] appearance only, before Odessa; and later telegraphs announce that on the 15th a detachment of the Allied fleet effected a descent upon the Spit of Kinburn, near the salt-water lakes.

The Peninsula of Kinburn is one of the most important military and naval positions on the south coast of Russia, at the mouth of the rivers Boug and Dnieper, and opposite Nicoliaeff. The telegraphic despatch, describing the landing of the detachment, (and which comes from Nicoliaeff, via St. Petersburg,) states "the number of troops disembarked was inconsiderable. Toward the close of the day, six steamers began to cannonade the town of Kinburn. The fortress, however, replied in such a manner as to keep them at a distance, and damaged one of the steamers."

A despatch from St. Petersburgh, Oct. 18th, says that the fortress of Kinburn resisted the Allies by a very heavy fire up to the 17th, on which day, at noon, the Allies entered the place.

By their position at Kinburn, the Allies place in close blockade the naval arsenal and port of Nicoliaeff, the towns of Kherson and Berislaff, and the whole regions watered by the Dnieper, Boug, and Ingoul.

THE CAMPAIGN IN ASIA.

The Allies have achieved another great victory—the defeat of the Russians before Kars. This affair was achieved by the Turks, under Gen. Williams, an Englishman, who has maintained his position in Asia against unexampled difficulties. The despatch received by the Ottoman minister at London, from the General commanding at Kars, under date of the 29th ult., announces the following:

"The Russians attacked Kars to-day. The combat lasted eight hours, and during the struggle—which could not have been of a more deadly character—the enemy, after repeated efforts made with its full strength, succeeded in entering some of the batteries, but was repulsed with heavy losses. After having made considerable efforts, the Russians were compelled to yield before the courage of our brave soldiers, and to retire in a state of complete confusion. In addition to the dead and wounded removed during the action, 4,000 dead were left in the trenches and the environs of the fortress; 100 prisoners were made, and one cannon captured. Our losses amount to 700 or 800 men, among whom we have to deplore the death of several superior officers. The Russians are preparing to retreat, and to abandon the siege."

The *Moniteur* contains a report from Admiral Bruat, of October 2d, showing that there had been an expedition against Taman and Fanagoria, in the Kertsch Straits, which had completely succeeded. On the 24th of September, Commandant Bonet left Kertsch for Taman, with ten gun-boats, an aviso, and a steamer. On arriving off Fanagoria, he threw some shells into the redoubt, and proceeded to disembark about a mile from the fort. During this interval, the Russians abandoned the place, and the Allies took possession of it in the presence of a force of cavalry from 600 to 800 strong, which retired immediately. A few shells were thrown among them. On the following day, our troops were employed in destroying all the houses in Fanagoria, that could have been converted into shelter for troops. At Cape St. Paul, sixty-six cannons and four mortars were found in the fort. At Taman, there were eleven 24-pounders left in the sand. By the 2d of October, the destruction of Taman and Fanagoria was complete. The expedition was about to return to Kertsch.

The battle was fought with extraordinary animosity on the part of the Russians, who confess to only four hundred killed.

The account via Trebizond gives more particulars, and corroborates the statement that the Russians were determined to raise the siege. It states that at one time the Russians succeeded in taking two batteries, but before they had time to turn round the guns, or even to spike them, the Turks rushed upon them with such vigor as to regain possession of the batteries, and decide the fortune of the day. The Russians, furiously repulsed, fell back upon their comrades, who were thrown into confusion. The Turks then rushed out of the fortress, and massacred an enormous number. This account states that, though a large number of killed and wounded Russians were removed, four thousand were left dead under the walls. Two hundred were taken prisoners, and some pieces of ordnance captured.

On the 24th of September, five days before this event, four thousand men of Omer Pasha's army, sent to raise the siege of Kars by threatening the Russian provinces of Abasia, Mingrelia, Imeritia, Georgia, and Tiflis, (the capital,) landed at Sauchum Kale, in Abasia. The active operations, however, it is understood, will be much retarded by the lateness of the season.

RUSSIAN ACCOUNT.

A despatch received from St. Petersburgh states that on the 29th of September the Russian army attacked Kars. In consequence of several officers of high rank having been killed or wounded early in the action, the assault was unsuccessful.

General Monravieff says: "At the beginning the attack was successful, but the position and numbers of the enemy forced us to withdraw. Notwithstanding this, and a heavy loss, our troops took fourteen banners, and a stand of colors. The blockade of Kars is re-established."

MISCELLANEOUS WAR ITEMS.

The Sebastopol correspondent of the London *Times*, writing under date of October 5, says: "At present the troops are in excellent health. Our strength is very considerable. It is almost as numerous as that with which the Duke fought the battle of Victoria. The infantry counts 27,000; the cavalry, 3,500; the artillery, 9,000—in fine, General Simpson has under his command not less than 38,000 effectives of all arms. There are a few things to be complained of."

Numbers of military officers on sick leave in Ireland have received orders to proceed instantly to the Crimea. Several of the gentlemen had to leave without their luggage.

Advices from Marseilles state that great exertions were making to complete the embarkation of an entire division of 10,000 men, under General Laubert.

The *Verite*, of Little, states that every night during the past week railway trains, conveying troops, have passed through that town from the camp of the north, which is now completely at an end. Each of the trains conveyed not less than 700 men. Most of these troops are on their way to the Crimea, and it is difficult to describe the joy and animation which prevail amongst them.

ENGLAND.

The Bank of England announced on the 18th ult. an increase in the rate of discount to 6 per cent. for sixty days bills, and to 7 per cent. for paper of a date running to 95 days. The greatest alarm has been created in commercial circles, as these are higher rates than those which preceded the panic of 1847, though then, it is said, the rise was put off too long, and thus caused greater mischief. An immediate suspension of the restrictive clause of Peel's bank bill was asked for, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said there was nothing to warrant such a proposal. An issue of small paper money was discussed also, and the Liverpool merchants were to hold a meeting, it is said, on both these subjects. At Manchester, also, a petition was being got up for an alteration of the bank bill charter, so as to allow the issue of notes on Government securities in hand.

Parliament has been further prorogued until Tuesday, the 11th December.

Hopes are still entertained that the claims of Mexican bond-holders will be transferred to the management of Baring Brothers. Negotiations for that object, however, have so far failed.

Mr. Macaulay, the historian, intends retiring from the representation of Edinburgh at the next dissolution. Several candidates are ready to step into the field.

A grand Crimean banquet, attended by fifty officers who took part in the campaign, has been held at Glasgow, the Duke of Hamilton presiding. Sir Archibald Alison made a brilliant speech on the war, and what he termed and described as its glorious achievements, in pitched battles, the great siege, the final conquest, &c., all ranking in history with Thermypalæ, &c.

Miss Charlotte Hinds, the purchaser of an Irish estate under the encumbered estates act, has been barbarously maltreated by some refractory tenants, who waylaid and attempted to assassinate her. Her leg and arm were broken, and two balls lodged in her head. She is not expected to survive.

The Belgian Transatlantic Steam Navigation Company are likely to commence running their steamers fortnightly between Antwerp, Southampton, and New York, in November.

A paper called *L'Homme*, published in Jersey, edited by French and other refugees, having indulged in abuse of the Queen of England, has been denounced at an indignation meeting held by the inhabitants, and is to be suppressed. Later letters state that the editors and publishers of the journal have been banished the island. The refugees have been attacked by a mob, and forced to take refuge in Guernsey.

Alleged American sympathy for Russia occupies a good deal of the attention of the British Press, and much frets it. One journal says America possessing California will never pardon the discovery of gold in Australia; another, the *Daily News*, says:

"While Slavery exists in America, and Russians abound in America, there will always be more sympathy for the Czar afloat in the great Republic than in all the monarchies of Europe."

FRANCE.

The Bank of France has also raised its rate of discount to six per cent.—they say, merely to preserve the equilibrium between the two countries. It is stated also that the French Bank had restricted its advances on shares, rents, &c., thirty per cent. of their market value.

The Paris letter of the *Times* says that the restrictive measures lately adopted by the Bank of France are beginning to be felt in almost every branch of trade, and transactions have accordingly become difficult. Manufacturers have limited as much as possible their purchases of raw materials, and retailers are slow in laying in their usual winter stock. Orders, however, continue to be received from the United States, from South America, and England, and the winter export trade promises to be active. The price of corn has again increased.

The Duke of Brabant, heir to King Leopold, and his Duchess, sister to the Emperor of Austria, are on a visit to the French Emperor; magnificent *fetes* for their amusement have taken place.

The International Association for bringing about a uniform system of coins, weights, and measures, assembled on the 17th at the Exhibition Palace, Paris. Mr. Field attended from the United States. A permanent international committee, to sit in Paris, was constituted.

AUSTRIA.

The house of Rothschild has been commissioned to establish an Austrian Bank of credit mobilier, with a capital, it is said, of 60,000,000 florins.

A "concordat" has been concluded between Austria and the Holy See, which gives most important privileges to the latter.

DENMARK.

The Danish Government has appointed M. Bluhma, the Director of the Sound dues administration, to be Danish Commissioner at the conferences respecting the Sound dues, which it is proposed to hold in November. The report is confirmed that Denmark will propose that the dues shall be capitalized for the purpose of redemption.

RUSSIA.

Advices from St. Petersburg state that an imperial ukase has ordered the levy of the militia in the Governments of Orenburg and Samara, at the rate of twenty-three men per 1,000 male souls. The levy is to begin on the 15th November, and is to terminate on the 15th December.

Letters from Odessa announce that, in consequence of orders from the Emperor Alexander, a commission of inquiry has been appointed at Kiew, to decide on the fate of such volunteers in the Foreign Legion, serving the Western Powers, as may be taken prisoners. These men will not be considered prisoners of war. Hungarians in this category will be delivered to Austria.

General Korff has been deprived of his command, for his negligence in allowing himself to be taken by surprise by General d'Allonville's cavalry. He is succeeded by General Prince Radzwicke.

INDIA.

The dates from Bombay are to September 12. Scarcity of food was anticipated, though a timely fall of rain had averted famine. India generally was tranquil, and the Santal insurrection, though not entirely subdued, was not characterized by the outrages with which it commenced. One thousand of the rebels had surrendered.

An attempt had been made on the life of Sir Henry Ward, the Governor of Ceylon, by a Cingalose.

GREECE.

The new Greek Minister announces the neutrality of the reformed administration, and the execution of obligatious due foreign Powers.

FURTHER CALIFORNIA NEWS.

We make the following additional extracts from our California files to the 5th ult.:

FROM CALIFORNIA.

During the last quarter, the coinage at the San Francisco mint amounted to $7,551,740, all in gold, except $63,125 in silver. The deposits for the same time, in gold, were $7,202,617.

Lieut. Thomas F. F. Castor, of the 1st regiment of U. S. dragoons, died at Fort Tejon, 8th of September.

The wheat, corn, barley, and oat crop of Sacramento county this year will be worth, it is estimated, $2,000,000.

It is rumored that a large body of men, some four or five hundred, are organizing throughout the State, for the purpose of joining Walker.

It is supposed that as many as eighty of the passengers for Nicaragua, in the steamer of the 20th ult., intend to join the ranks of Walker.

The sale of the Japanese goods, per C. E. Foote, being the first cargo ever imported directly into the United States, occurred at San Francisco on the 26th and 27th of September. The articles were readily disposed of at high rates.

The State Agricultural Fair, at Sacramento, has proved very successful. Several novel features were introduced, in the shape of tournaments, equestrianism by ladies, lassoing, &c., for superior skill in all of which, prizes were awarded.

The mining operations throughout the State have proved generally satisfactory, although the present is the dull season, on account of the scarcity of water.

The mines on Scott and Klamath rivers have been turning out even better, if possible, than ever. Three men in five days took out $6,800.

At a place called Junction Bar, at the mouth of Scott river, Eager & Co., four men, took out in one day $2,000. These men have taken out of their claim as high as $800 to the pan. Messrs. Tristam, Goodshall, & Co., recently took out of their claim, near Gibonsville, a chunk of gold weighing 500 ounces.

The Yreka *Union* gives an account of the massacre of three men by Indians. Their names were Fields, Jack Evans, and Samuel Warner.

FROM OREGON.

The dates from Oregon are to the 27th of September. The papers speak of the prospect of a general war with the Indians. Murders of whites are not unfrequent. It was generally believed that not less than eight white men had recently been murdered by the Indians, on the route from Puget Sound to the Colville mines. The only name mentioned is that of Mr. Mattioe, of Columbia.

Governor Stevens had reached Fort Benton. The rumors of his massacre are believed to have been started by the Indians.

The news from the Colville gold mines is more favorable, representing the gold diggers as doing tolerably well.

The military expedition under Major Haller had returned to the Dalles. The expedition was sent out, by the Government at home, for the purpose of chastising those blood-thirsty Indians who committed the inhuman butchery of the Ward family and party, on the plains near Fort Boise, last year. They captured ten of the murderers, tried and hung four, shot three, wounded and brought in two prisoners.

FROM THE SOUTH PACIFIC COAST.

In Peru, the right to vote has been given to all persons over 22 years of age, able to read and write, or proprietors of landed property.

The Ecuadorian Legislative Chambers met September 16th. An export duty has been imposed upon cauchue and cascarilla. Some of the press oppose this measure, and complain of the scarcity of food.

In Bolivia, Gen. Santa Cruz was permitted to pay a temporary visit to La Paz. The remains of Gen. Bolivar are to be placed in a national tomb.

There is little news from Chili. A census table shows that at the last report there were 19,669 foreigners in the republic, the majority of whom were Englishmen.

FROM AUSTRALIA.

Dates from Sydney are to July 26th. On the 10th July, fine flour was held at £55 per ton, and seconds at £53, but arrivals of Chilian and California grain caused the price to recede £12 per ton in one day. Wheat fell from twenty to twelve shillings a bushel. Gold rated at from £3. 5*s.* to £4 per ounce, according to quality.

FROM CHINA.

We have news from Hong Kong (China) to the 12th of August. Ten thousand rebels had been executed at Canton. No tea of this year's growth had been received, and it was thought the supply would be scanty. The tea trade at Foo-Choo during last season was very heavy.

FROM CENTRAL AMERICA.

Nicaragua is in a wretched state, owing to the civil dissensions of the people. Business was at a stand-still, and work was neglected for war. Col. Kinney was held up as a model agriculturist. He expected a reinforcement of nine hundred settlers from Alabama and Missippi. The Colonel had concluded an important treaty with the Indians, by which he would be enabled to penetrate into the interior in safety. Col. Walker had done nothing lately, as he was waiting for recruits.

Gen. Melo had left Bogota, to go into banishment at Venezuela for eight years. The new Constitution of Panama had gone into force. Hunter, the American, was sent to Aspinwall for trial, notwithstanding Col. Ward's protest.

IMPORTANT FROM CENTRAL AMERICA.

New York, Nov. 4.—The steamer "Star of the West," from San Juan de Nicaragua, arrived here Saturday evening. She brought three hundred passengers, and one million dollars in specie.

The Star of the West connected with the steamer Uncle Sam. The passengers were detained nine days on the Isthmus, in consequence of the existing political troubles. The war in Central America is assuming a serious aspect. Colonel Walker, the filibuster, attacked Grenada on the 14th October, which place, having been previously almost deserted, he took without havoc; and, on the 22d, Carrol, the commander of the forces of the late Government, surrendered to Walker, and a treaty was formally ratified between them.

Don Fruto Moyarga, late Secretary of State, having been detected in correspondence with the enemy outside the city, was shot on the 22d, at Grenada.

The Transit Company's steamer San Carlos, with the passengers which left New York in the Star of the West on the 5th October, was fired into by the Government, from the fort at the junction of the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua. A lady and child were killed, and the boat damaged. The passengers subsequently reached the Pacific, without further molestation.

On the evening of the 19th, the Government forces from Rivas made a murderous attack on the returning Californians at Virgin Bay, killing four and severely wounding eight.

Both the above acts appear to have been dictated by a spirit of revenge at the success of Walker.

HORRIBLE RAILROAD ACCIDENT.—*St. Louis, Nov.* 2.—A most horrible railroad accident occurred this morning. I send you hastily all the particulars received. The excursion train of eleven cars, which left here yesterday to celebrate the opening of the Pacific Railroad to Jefferson City, met with a most frightful accident at the Gasconade river, one hundred miles west of this city. As the train was crossing, the bridge fell, precipitating ten of the cars, with all their passengers, nearly thirty feet into the river. *There were, without doubt, about seven hundred persons in these cars, and not more than two hundred escaped uninjured.* Upwards of twenty are reported killed, and from twenty to fifty badly wounded.

From the Maysville Eagle, Oct. 18.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SLAVERY,

Of the Kentucky Annual Conference.

Your Committee on Slavery beg leave to report as follows:

Whereas the subject of Slavery is being agitated in the Annual Conferences of the Methodist E. Church, in view of some action in the next General Conference—

And whereas any change in the Rule in the Book of Discipline would materially injure the Methodist E. Church in Kentucky, and prove detrimental to the cause of God in our borders—

And whereas the evil of Slavery is discussed in the family circle, on the stump, in the halls of legislation, and in the pulpit, we deem it right and proper to express our opinion. Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, (by the members of the Kentucky Annual Conference, in Conference assembled,) That we approve of the General Rule of the Discipline of our Church, as it is, and are not convinced that any change in said rule could be made for the better.

2. *Resolved*, That we understand the rule to prohibit the buying or selling of human beings for gain, and that we practice accordingly.

3. *Resolved*, That we instruct our delegates to the next General Conference to favor the addition of a paragraph, to the five very wholesome paragraphs on Slavery in Chapter 7 of the Discipline, making it an offence against the Discipline of the Methodist E. Church, for a member of said Church to sunder the marriage relation of slaves.

4. *Resolved*, That the foregoing Preamble and Resolutions be published in the papers of this city and in the *Western Christian Advocate*. Respectfully submitted.

N. F. TOWER.
W. H. BLACK.

The Report of the Committee was unanimously concurred in.

J. M. GATCH, *Secretary.*

Maysville, Oct. 16, 1855.

MARRIAGE.

Married on the 28th October, by E. S. Barnes, Esq., Mr. JOHN C. BOLON to Miss MARION B. SHOTWELL, all of Belmont county, Ohio.

DEATH.

Died on Thursday, October 18th, at his residence in Akron, Ohio, of typhoid fever, JOSEPH STANTON, M. D., in his thirty-second year.

There is a man in Olney, Illinois, so dirty, that the assessor puts him down as "real estate."

They have had a baby show at Boston, England.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, November 6, 1855.

Flour, Howard Street	$9.25	@	0.00
Flour, City Mills	9.25	@	0.00
Rye Flour	7.25	@	7.31
Corn Meal	4.25	@	4.50
Wheat, white	2.15	@	2.20
Wheat, red	2.10	@	2.15
Corn, white	87	@	90
Corn, yellow	87	@	90
Rye, Pennsylvania	1.12	@	1.15
Rye, Virginia	1.03	@	1.08
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	38	@	42
Oats, Pennsylvania	42	@	00
Clover Seed	7.25	@	7.50
Timothy Seed	3.50	@	3.62
Hay, Timothy	22.00	@	25.00
Hops	18	@	20
Potatoes, Mercer	0.00	@	0.00
Bacon, Shoulders	11¾	@	12¼
Bacon, Sides	12	@	12½
Bacon, Hams	12½	@	14
Pork, Mess	21.00	@	22.00
Pork, Prime	20.50	@	00.00
Beef, Mess	18.50	@	00.00
Lard, in barrels	12	@	00
Lard, in kegs	13½	@	13½
Wool, Unwashed	18	@	20
Wool, Washed	27	@	30
Wool, Pulled	22	@	27
Wool, Fleece, common	28	@	33
Wool, Fleece, fine	40	@	48
Wool, Choice Merino	30	@	40
Butter, Western, in kegs	14	@	16
Butter, Roll	18	@	20
Cheese	10½	@	10¾
Coffee, Rio	11½	@	11¾
Coffee, Java	15½	@	15

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, November 6, 1855.

Flour, State brands	$9.25	@	9.37
Flour, State brands, extra	10.75	@	11.25
Flour, Western	9.12	@	9.62
Flour, Southern	9.62	@	0.00
Rye Flour	6.50	@	7.50
Corn Meal	4.75	@	4.87
Wheat, white	2.15	@	2.20
Wheat, red	1.95	@	2.05
Corn, white	96	@	97
Corn, yellow	96	@	97
Rye	1.25	@	0.00
Oats	46	@	49
Clover Seed	11.00	@	0.00
Timothy Seed	4.25	@	0.00
Hay	70	@	75
Hops	12	@	14
Bacon, Shoulders	8¾	@	9
Bacon, Sides	6½	@	7
Bacon, Hams	11	@	11½
Pork, Mess	22.50	@	22.75
Pork, Prime	21.00	@	21.25
Beef	13.00	@	14.00
Lard, in barrels	11¾	@	12
Lard, in kegs	11¾	@	12
Butter, Western	16	@	20
Butter, State	20	@	24
Cheese	9½	@	10
Coffee, Rio	11	@	11½
Coffee, Java	14½	@	00
Wool, Unwashed	9½	@	12
Wool, Washed	40	@	42
Wool, Pulled	28	@	29
Wool, Fleece, common	26	@	00
Wool, Fleece, fine	42½	@	00
Iron, Scotch, Pig	36.00	@	37.00
Lime, Rockland	1.12½	@	0.00
Lime, common	87½	@	00

LATER FROM MEXICO.

New Orleans, Nov. 5.—The steamer Nautilus has arrived from the Brazos, with later dates from Matamoras.

Four or five thousand men have been ordered to the frontier to repel the aggressions of the Texan Rangers.

Vidauri has been appointed Commander-in-chief of the Rio Grande division. He had ordered the commanding officer of Matamoras to discharge the National Guard, which order the latter refused to obey.

Vidauri has addressed a note to Secretary Marcy, complaining of the violation of Mexican territory, charging the Commander of Fort Duncan with conniving with the filibusters.

CIRCULATE THE DOCUMENTS.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD'S SPEECHES.

The Republican Association of Washington city have published in pamphlet form the speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William H. Seward at Albany and Buffalo, and, in order to give them as general a circulation as possible, have determined to send them, *free of postage*, at the following cheap rates:

Speech at Buffalo, $1.50 per hundred copies.
Speech at Albany, $1.50 per hundred copies.
Speech at Albany, (in German,) $2 per hundred copies.

The Association will also direct and mail them singly, free of postage, to such names as may be furnished, without additional charge. So send along your money and lists. Address

L. CLEPHANE, *Secretary of the Republican Association, Washington, D. C.*

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SETH W. FOWLE & CO., 138 Washington street, Boston, Proprietors. Sold by their agents everywhere.

BLEEDING AT THE LUNGS CURED.

Chickopee, Mass., February 20, 1854.

DEAR SIR: Having been attacked with hemorrhage of the lungs, which left me with a troublesome cough, and the usual debility consequent upon such an attack, and having cured myself by the use of

WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY,

I feel it a pleasure and a duty to testify to its merits. My general faith in patent medicines is small; but for those who are suffering under pulmonary attacks, I am persuaded that the Balsam is an excellent preparation.

Yours, very truly, JONA. R. CHILDS,
Editor Chickopee Telegraph.

Seth W. Fowle, Esq., Boston.

If genuine, signed I. BUTTS.

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IS no dull prison story or tale of suffering, no particular denunciation of oppression or account of personal adventure, but chiefly an insight into the mind and

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Their Literature, Poetry, Religion, Laws, and Morality.

MALAY NOBLES AND PRINCESSES

are introduced, with their wars and loves, their rovings and romance, and the account of them intermingled with the history and statistics of the great Malay Isle.

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past and present, is discussed with historic impartiality, notwithstanding the author's long and painful confinement in the

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12*mo.* *Cloth.* *Price* $1.50.

J. C. RIKER, Publisher,
462 129 Fulton street New York.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE, 1855–'6.

THE TRIBUNE is now in the middle of its fifteenth year; Vol. XV of its weekly issue commenced on the 1st of September last. The American public need not now be made acquainted with its character or claims to consideration. With but a subordinate regard for prudence, policy, or popularity, it has aimed to stand for Righteousness, for Truth, for Humanity, against fortified Iniquity, Fraud, and Oppression. There is not a slave-trader on this Continent, though he may never read anything but his bills of sale and notes-payable, who does not know and hate THE TRIBUNE; there is not an extensive fabricator of drugged and poisonous Liquors who does not consider it a very dangerous and immoral paper, and wonder why its publication is tolerated in a commercial, cotton-buying City like New York. The NEWARK MERCURY once forcibly remarked, that it had never known a hard, griping, screwing, avaricious, employer who was not hostile to THE TRIBUNE, nor one eminently generous and kindly who did not like it. Prompt and plain-spoken in its denunciations of iniquity and abuses of power, while claiming no exemption from human fallibility, it may have done temporary injustice to individuals, but it has never been unfaithful to Principle, nor deaf to the cries of the wronged and suffering. In its columns, the advocates of novel and unpopular theories, contemplating the melioration of human woes, especially those of the voiceless and down-trodden, have ever found audience and hospitality; while it has ardently resisted, and will persistently combat, every attempt to proscribe and degrade any class, because of diversities of Nativity, Creed, or Color.

In defiance of calumnies the most atrocious, and of hostilities the most deadly and untiring, THE TRIBUNE has grown steadily in public appreciation from the day of its origin. Its means of serving the public have been augmented in proportion. Instead of a single editor, with one or two assistants, its organization now comprises a numerous body of writers, each fitted by special accomplishment and experience for the particular line of discussion to which his pen is devoted; the daily amount of reading matter given, more than quadruples that of its earliest issues; a staff of valued correspondents encircles the globe, transmitting early and intelligent narrations of whatever is most worthy of attention; while Politics, Legislation, Literature, Art, History—in short, whatever affects the social well-being of mankind, Polemic Theology alone excepted—finds here the freest and most searching discussion.

Attached by profound conviction to the beneficent policy of Industrial Development and Internal Intercommunication, whose most conspicuous champion throughout the last Half-Century was HENRY CLAY—imbued, moreover, with that spirit of forbearance toward our weaker neighbors, and toward the much-wronged Aborigines of this Continent, and of Peace with All, which will hallow the name of Whig, THE TRIBUNE, while surrendering no jot of its proper independence, co-operated earnestly and ardently with the Whig party so long as its vitality was preserved. When, in 1850–'2, an attempt was made to interpolate slave-hunting into its creed, we sternly resisted that imposition; when, at the close of the last Presidential canvass, it was seen that a large portion of the Whigs preferred to defeat their own party, rather than allow its Anti-Slavery wing to attain its triumph, even under a conservative Chief on a Pro-Slavery platform, we knew and proclaimed that the Whig party was no more. Subsequent events, including the rise and culmination of the Know Nothing conspiracy, and the speedy absorption therein of the whole force of Pro-Slavery Whigism, only confirmed our undoubting anticipations. With no sickly lamentations, therefore, for the inevitable bygone, but with hope, and joy, and sympathy, and words of cheer, have we hailed the beginning and watched the progress of that mighty REPUBLICAN movement, which, impelled by the perfidious violation of the Missouri Compact, and stimulated by the astounding outrages whereof the rights of the Free Settlers of Kansas have been the victims—by the repeated and utter vitiation of their elections by an armed mob, collected by conspiracy and hurled suddenly upon them from the border counties of the neighboring slave State, is destined to sweep away the landmarks of old party feuds, and unite the true hearts and *strong arms* of the free-souled in one mighty effort to confine the scourge and scandal of our country within the limits of the States which unwisely uphold it. To the success of this effort, the energies of THE TRIBUNE will be sternly devoted; while the TEMPERANCE REFORM, including the entire suppression of the Traffic in Intoxicating Beverages, will find in it, as hitherto, an earnest and unflinching champion.

Commencing as a daily folio sheet of moderate size, and with scarcely a shadow of patronage, THE TRIBUNE is now issued in quarto form DAILY (three distinct editions) SEMI-WEEKLY, and WEEKLY, on a sheet 41 by 34 inches, eight ample pages of six columns each. Its circulation has steadily grown from nothing to the following aggregates:

Daily issues (evening and morning)	29,500 copies
Semi-Weekly	14,175 "
Weekly	137,750 "
California edition	6,000 "
Total	187,425 "

We believe no other newspaper in the world has a subscription list over half so large as this; and no periodical of any sort can rival it. And while its extreme cheapness, rendering an increase of paying readers only an indirect pecuniary advantage to us, has doubtless largely swelled its subscription list, it would be absurdity not to perceive in this unprecedented patronage some evidence of public approval and esteem.

TERMS.

THE TRIBUNE employs no travelling agents, and sends out no papers on trust. If it is not stopped when the term paid for expires, and the subscriber does not choose further to pay for it, we resort to no legal process to compel him. On the Weekly, we mean to stop every paper on the expiration of the advance payment, awaiting a fresh remittance from the subscriber. If none comes, the account is closed. We pay no local agents; wish no money paid to any, when the payer cannot trust him to mail or otherwise send it to us; once mailed, its safety is at our risk, (and a serious risk it often proves;) but are grateful to every one who deems it a good work to obtain and forward the names and money of his friends and neighbors. Our terms invariably are—for the

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE CONTEST AND THE CRISIS.

THE POLITICS OF JUSTICE, EQUALITY, AND FREEDOM.

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD

At the Great Republican Meeting in Buffalo, OCTOBER 19, 1855.

I am always proud of my native State, when I stand in the presence of the mountains under whose shadow I was born, or on the shores of the silvery lakes among which I dwell. I am prouder still, when, looking off from the vestibule of the Capitol, I see the Mediterranean waters of the continent, obedient to her command, mingle their floods with the tides of the world-encircling ocean. No less buoyant is my pride now, when standing here in the presence of Niagara, the marvel of nature itself, I see New York at once unlocking the gates of the West, and standing sentinel on the frontier of the Republic, whose safety constitutes the hope of the human race. Speaking on such a stage, how can I do otherwise than speak thoughtfully, sincerely, earnestly?

Ye good men of Erie! The Republican Party is sounding throughout all our borders a deep-toned alarum for the safety of the Constitution, of Union, and of Liberty. Do you hear it? The Republican Party declares that, by means of recent treacherous measures adopted by Congress and the President of the United States, the constitutional safeguards of citizens, identical with the rights of human nature itself, are undermined, impaired, and in danger of being overthrown. It declares, that if those safeguards be not immediately renewed and restored, the Government itself, hitherto a fortress of Republicanism, will pass into the hands of an insidious aristocracy, and its batteries be turned against the cause which it was reared to defend.

The Republican Party is not deficient, either in intelligence, in earnest patriotism, in moderation, or in numbers. Its members everywhere are among those who, in all our political, moral, and religious associations, have been as enlightened and as efficient as their fellows. Those who constitute its masses have, some for long periods, and others throughout long lives, been consistent supporters, not only of the Constitution, but also of all those principles of Justice, Equality, and Liberty, which are the basis of Republican Government. Not one of them, so far as we know, has ever counselled seditious or factious measures. The Republican Party holds either paramount or at least respectable rank and authority in thirteen of the States, with either the whole or a majority of the Representatives of each of those States in the Federal Union.

It is, indeed, popularly regarded as a Party of yesterday. But, practically, it is old and well known in the field of public affairs. Its policy is to inculcate perpetual jealousy of the increase and extension of Slavery, and the plantation, organization, and admission of free States in the common Territories of the United States. This policy is even older than the Constitution itself. It was the policy of Jay, Madison, Jefferson, and Washington. It was early exercised in prohibiting the African slave trade, and devoting the Northwest Territory to impartial Freedom. Although it has not always prevailed in the Federal Government, it has, without change or even the shadow of turning, been always the policy of the State of New York, which has, continually, been the wisest member of the Confederacy, and as loyal as any other member. Those who have cherished this policy have, however, been divided and distributed among the many parties which have existed, until, by reason of that separation alone, the policy itself has been arrested and defeated. Defeated, but not successfully repressed, that policy has at last worked out a disintegration of all the parties by whom it was so unwisely and disloyally discarded. Its advocates, thus disengaged and released from diverse and uncongenial relations, have come together by means of a just and natural affinity, and have organized, and they now constitute the Republican Party.

Slavery, contrary to the expectations of the founders of the Republic, still exists in this, the seventy-ninth year of Independence; and it has at once a purpose to perpetuate itself, and apparently a reasonable hope of at least a long continuance. On the other hand, the love of Equality springing alike and all at once from the consciences, the judgments, and the hearts of the American people, is irrepressible and imperishable—and so there will remain an undying jealousy of the aggrandizement of Slavery. The Republican Party fosters that jealousy, and directs it to the proper means of active resistance. Thus it happens, that as the Republican Party is not a party of yesterday, it is also not merely a party of to-day, but a durable, perpetual organization.

The slaveholders, always sufficiently united and consolidated, have so improved their advantages, that their aggressions have become at last intolerable. They have rushed into a dead lock with their opponents. The nation's whole breadth is the field of contest. A changeless sway of the Republic, throughout its future existence, is the object of this majestic strife. So the slaveholders on the one side, and the Republican Party on the other, are now, and for an indefinite period must continue to be, not merely the chief combatants, but practically the only combatants in the Union. Such is the Republican Party, and such are the circumstances under which it appeals to you to enlist under its banner, and give it your enlightened and effective co-operation. Shall I have on your part a fair and candid hearing in its behalf?

I am well aware that at this moment large popular masses are at rest, while others, broken up in the general wreck of former parties, are moving capriciously, and in divergent directions. I know equally well that popular masses at rest, have a sort of *vis inertiæ* to overcome; and that popular masses, suddenly and violently disturbed, cannot all at once compose themselves, and organize. I apprehend, therefore, that here, as elsewhere, there may be, on the part of some, a disposition to indolence, and on the part of others a disposition to avoid the organization which seems to me to have become necessary. Both of these dispositions persuade to neutrality.

Are you indeed sure, then, that neutrality will be right, even if you find it possible? Is Liberty to be maintained in this Republic, otherwise than through the conflicts of great parties? Where there are no great parties, there are either many small factions, or no parties or factions whatever. A State that surrenders itself to the confused contests of small parties or factions, is sinking inevitably towards despotism. A State that has no parties or factions at all, is a despotism already.

In every conflict between great parties, (speaking without reference to the motives of leaders or of masses,) is there not one side that is absolutely or relatively the right side, and which, because it is the right side, is the side favorable to the public welfare and the public safety; and also another side that is absolutely or relatively the wrong side, and therefore the side detrimental to the public welfare, and injurious to the public safety? Are the welfare and safety of the whole body politic anything else than the welfare and safety of all its individual members? Can I justly expect you to defend my interest, and to assure my safety, if I will not defend and guard them myself? In an ancient Republic, it was made a capital crime to refuse to take a side in every political contest that agitated the commonwealth. The penalty was indeed too severe, but was not the policy of the law just and wise? Still you fear agitation, and desire repose. Was not the British Commonwealth free from disturbance, when it so suddenly went down, and the Stuarts renewed their hateful dominion? Was not the late French Republic distracted by petty factions, regardless of the constitution and its safety, when the *coup d'etat* of Louis Napoleon placed him upon the throne, and sent the Republicans of France to prison, to exile, and to death? Quiet and repose are indeed desirable, when they can be safely enjoyed; but they can be safely enjoyed only when they come at intervals of great activity, and repair and fit the wearied commonwealth for renewed watchfulness.

Can you maintain neutrality? If you enlist into or remain associated with the Democratic Party, or either of its sections, that is to engage directly in the contest. Even if your party or section disavow opposition to Freedom, all its successes enure to the advantage of the slaveholders. Is neutrality easy to be maintained, amid the excitement of political contests? Zealous men in opposing parties mutually respect each other, if they are generous; but they agree in despising the timid and trimming citizen. In every campaign, the place of greatest danger is the neutral ground lying between the two lines, because it is raked by the fire of both armies.

Perhaps you think the immunities of neutrality may be secured by remaining in some independent outside association. How long do you think any considerable mass of American citizens—enlightened, open, manly, ardent, as they are—will be amused or interested in the mummeries of a merely private, secret, selfish, bigoted, proscriptive cabal, and its stale debates about the proper conditions of naturalization, and the claims of adopted citizens to the privilege of gracing the parades of the militia on muster days, and the non-conformity of Catholic clergy to the approved Protestant tenures of churches and burying grounds, when the discussion of the great question, whether this shall be a land of Freedom or a land of Slavery, shall have actually begun, and every popular tribune is occupied? When the sea is calm, light and fanciful barks sport safely and gaily on its surface, among its merchantmen and its ships of war. But when the storm king lashes the waves, and they rise up to kiss his feet, the fantastical craft, no matter how broad its streamers, or how sharp its keel, or how dexterous its navigator, suddenly disappears.

I conclude, therefore, that you all, if not now, yet soon enough, will take one side or the other in this great controversy.

Which side? It will be the side on which Justice, Equality, and Freedom, shall be found; and, therefore, on which final success and triumph shall be found. Which side is that? Even the mathematician cannot prove a self-evident truth in his science; nor can I demonstrate a self-evident truth in politics. To assert that Justice, Equality, or Freedom, may be found on the side of those who are laboring to fortify and extend Slavery, is one of those paradoxes which pensioned Error requires us to refute. I may be able to illustrate its absurdity. Justice, Equality, and Freedom, in political discussions, relate to individual men and masses of men in the State. The old Roman State consisted of members constituting three classes. 1st. Patricians or privileged citizens. 2d. Plebeians or unprivileged citizens. 3d. Slaves, equally held by both of the other classes. All the politics of that great and powerful people, whether of peace or war, domestic or foreign, turned on the ever-changing balances of these three classes, and chiefly on that of the two first. In the United States, there are also three classes. Slaveholders, Non-slaveholders, and Slaves. From the foundation of our system, and even from an early period, in the Revolutionary War itself, all American politics, whether of peace or war, and whether domestic or foreign, have mainly turned, as they are now conspicuously turning, with the vibrations of the balances between these three classes, and chiefly those of the balance between the two first. Always the Slaveholders, apprehensive of danger to property and pretensions anomalous and obnoxious, seek to fortify themselves, with blind disregard to the rights and interests of Non-slaveholders. Always the Non-slaveholders, having an increasing consciousness that Slavery in any degree is injurious to the State, and dangerous in proportion to its strength, seek to counteract the policy of the Slaveholders by diffusing the spirit of Freedom. The cause of the Non-slaveholders is assumed by the Republican Party, and by no other party, sect, or faction. On which side, then, may we expect that Justice, Equality, and Liberty, will be found?

The opposition, however, tell us they cannot yet see that Slaveholders may not possibly have Justice on their side. Let us try to make the matter plain. Slaveholders are men engaged in the occupations of society, and they are a power in the State. Non-slaveholders, using only free labor, are human also, and another power in the State. Their systems clash, their interests conflict, their ambitions conflict. The one power strives to extend, the other to circumscribe, Slavery. The Republicans, by succession, are the party who have opposed all the political concessions which have hitherto been made to Slavery. They opposed successfully the introduction of Slavery into the Northwest Territory. They opposed, with partial success, the extension of Slavery in the Territory acquired from France. They opposed, with partial success, the extension of Slavery in the State of Texas. They opposed, with partial success, the extension of Slavery in the Territory obtained by conquest from Mexico. They opposed the abrogation of the restriction in favor of Freedom contained in the Missouri Compromise. They now demand the admission, not only of free States, but also of free States only, into the American Union. The Slaveholders are the party by whose power and influence all the enlargements of Slavery within the United States have been made. On which side, then, are Justice, Equality, and Freedom? Answer me upon your honors and your consciences.

An immediate issue involves the question whether Kansas shall be rescued from jeopardy of Slavery, aggravated perhaps by the horrors of civil war, and brought into the Union as a free State, notwithstanding the dereliction of Congress and the treachery of the President of the United States. This issue is to be decided by the present Congress, or possibly continued before the next Congress, under a new Administration. The Republican Party are committed to the rescue of Kansas. It is not just that Kansas shall be a free State? Is it not an inherent right of every community to be free, if it desire to be so? What does your Declaration of Independence mean, if it do not mean that? Was not Freedom pledged to Kansas in 1820, by the Slaveholders themselves? Was not that pledge surreptitiously and perfidiously broken in 1854, by the Kansas Territorial act? Was not Freedom pledged even by that act to the people of Kansas, if they should desire to be free? Is not even that pledge shamefully broken by the usurpation of the Missouri slaveholders? Let the Republican Party prevail in this and in the next canvass, and Kansas will become a free State. Let the Republican Party fail, and Kansas will inevitably be a slave State. On which side, then, are Justice, Equality, and Freedom? Answer me, as you will expect to answer at the bar of the public opinion of mankind.

The sophists return to the argument with new and various dilemmas. They are not satisfied that Congress had the power to enact the restriction contained in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Grant that they had not. Yet the people of Kansas have the right now to establish a free State. But Congress had constitutional power to enact that restriction. It was identical with the Ordinance of 1787. That Ordinance was established simultaneously with the passing and adoption of the Constitution, and successive constitutional Congresses have ratified and confirmed it. Did not the statesmen of 1787 understand the constitutional powers of Congress?

Again: There is no part of the territory of the United States over which there is not plenary absolute sovereignty residing somewhere. Where does that sovereignty reside? In the people of the United States. By whom is the legislative power of that sovereignty exercised? By Congress alone. Congress can make all "needful rules and regulations," concerning the public lands and other property of the United States. The prohibition of Slavery was the most needful of all rules and regulations. How pitiful is the quibble built on a criticism of the terms of this grant, when the Constitution contains no other grant of legislative power over the Territories, and the entire establishment of government in the Territories rests on this one grant only!

The opposition tell us, that if Congress could prohibit Slavery in Territories, then they might establish it there; and hence they argue against the power to prohibit. No! Congress can establish Slavery nowhere. Slavery was never established rightfully anywhere. Nor was it ever established by law. It is in violation of every line of the Declaration of Independence, and of the whole summary of personal rights contained in the Constitution. It is derogatory from the absolute rights of Human Nature, and no human power can subvert those rights. On which side, then, are Justice, Equality, and Freedom? Answer, as you would have your Constitution stand a charter of Freedom, or be perverted to the overthrow of the Rights of Mankind.

But, granting that Justice, Freedom, and Equality, are on the side of the Republican Party, we are asked, What guaranties can it give of loyalty to the Constitution and the Union? The question is an insult to your State, to the memories of its founders, and the memories of your fathers. Are loyalty and patriotism peculiar virtues of slaveholders only? Are sedition and treason natural vices of men, who, fearing God and loving Liberty for themselves, would therefore extend its blessings to all mankind? What is there inherent in the nature of Slavery, to make slaveholders loyal to Institutions of Freedom and Equality? What is there inherent in the nature of Freedom, to make those who possess, cherish, and defend it, disloyal to its noble and necessary Institutions? We give the guaranty of principles identical with the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. We give the guaranties of peaceful, just, and loyal lives, marked with a patience that has endured as long as they were tolerable, and without even a ruffling of the temper, not only the insults of slaveholders, but their menaces of disunion. Can slaveholders give better guaranties than these? Will they even give you any guaranties of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union? No, they argue only in threats of the subversion of both.

The apologists of Slavery, thus met, changed front suddenly, and ask us whether it is safe to brave these menaces of disunion. I answer—Yes, yes! Interests of a thousand kinds—material, social, moral, and political—affections springing from the very constitution of our nature—bind us non-slaveholders to this Union. The slaveholders, in spite of all these threats, are bound to it by the same bonds, and they are bound to it also by a bond peculiarly their own—that of dependence on it for their own safety. Three millions of slaves are a hostile force constantly in their presence, in their very midst. The servile war is always the most fearful form of war. The world without sympathizes with the servile enemy. Against that war, the American Union is the only defence of the slaveholders—their only protection. If ever they shall, in a season of madness, recede from that Union and provoke that war, they will—— soon come back again.

Nor are these threats the threats of the slaveholders themselves. They are arguments of politicians in behalf of the slaveholders. No man, heated by passion or the spirit of controversy, can safely pledge his future conduct. Reason will decide that for him, when the contemplated emergency shall have come. Neither can these politicians pledge the future conduct of the slaveholders. They will decide for themselves, when the time for their acquiescence comes. No mass of men in this country are so grossly libelled by their enemies as the slaveholders are by their friends. I know many of them well. I have seen them in their homes, on their plantations, and in their social circles. I never knew a disloyal man amongst them.

But, even if the case were otherwise, are we always to submit to threats instead of arguments—to refer everything to the umpirage of passion—to surrender everything to those who hold us in duress by our fears? If this is to be the rule of conduct, how long shall we have anything valuable, in Policy, Justice, Equality, or Freedom, to surrender. I know not how it may affect you, but every nerve and fibre and element of manhood within me is stretched to its utmost tension by these perpetual appeals to the ignoble instinct of fear, and not to the impartial counsel of my conscience and my judgment.

Last comes one who with seeming meekness asks us to consider whether it is wise to jeopard the safety and happiness of twenty-five millions of white men, in a vain effort to mitigate the sufferings of only three millions of negroes? Humane, cautious, paternal, conscientious, man! I might join issue, and ask where, in the ethics either of Government or of Christianity, you find authority to hold three millions of men in bondage, to promote the welfare or even to secure the safety of twenty-five millions of other men. But that argument belongs to the Abolitionists of Slavery, who do not reckon me in their number, and whose objects in this election are far more comprehensive than those of the Republican Party which I defend. I leave the rights and the interests of the slaves in the States to their own care and that of their advocates; I simply ask whether the safety and the interests of twenty-five millions of free non-slaveholding white men ought to be sacrificed or put in jeopardy for the convenience or safety of three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders? I hear no answer.

There can be no answer, unless the apologists of Slavery shall unblushingly assert that slaveholders, in their intercourse with non-slaveholders, are calm, tolerant, just. How is the fact? The non-slaveholder in the slave State is allowed no independence, no neutrality. He must support, maintain, and defend Slavery. The non-slaveholders constitute only a second estate in every slaveholding community; whips, pistols, knives, enforce not merely their silence, but their active partisanship. The right of free speech is lost to them, the right of suffrage is valueless to them, the honors and rewards of public office are denied to them. In Kansas, now by usurpation a slave Territory, the utterance of this speech, calm and candid although I mean it to be, would be treason; the reading and circulation of it in the *Buffalo Express* would be punished with death. Hitherto, this tyranny of slaveholders over non-slaveholding citizens has been mainly confined to slaveholding communities. But Slavery has of late arrogantly claimed to be national. Congress is sanctioning the usurpation, and the Federal Courts and even State Courts are boldly enforcing it. In violation of the Constitution, Congress compels the non-slaveholders in the free States to capture and deliver the fugitive slave. Congress at its last session was on the eve of subverting the original, honored jurisdiction of State Courts over Federal officers accused of offences against the personal rights of the citizen. The ancient writ of *habeas corpus* has become a remedy in the recapture of slaves, and the process of punishment for contempt suffices to imprison a non-slaveholding citizen, without indictment, trial, or conviction, without bail or mainprize, and without limitation of sentence, where a slaveholder is the prosecutor. Are not these invasions of State rights fearfully premonitory that Slavery is to become a universally ruling power throughout the Republic?

Nevertheless, and in view of all these things, the apologists of Slavery ask, Why bring these issues into a merely State election? Who brought them here? What are the platforms of the Hards, the Softs, and the Know Nothings, but issues with the Republican Party by demurrer or by denial tendered by themselves? Can you organize a Republican National Party one year, and dissolve it the next, and yet restore it in a third year, to accommodate local politics? Why have the parties in this State, always competent to control the action of the Federal Government, left these national grievances to reach this intolerable height? Why should not the Legislature, the magistrates, and the ministerial officers, of the State of New York, be men who dare to and will defend the rights of its citizens? Will not the Senators to be elected this year, constitute a part of the electoral body which will choose a Senator in Congress for the State next year? Away, then, with these subterfuges.

I dwell briefly on the momentous importance of this crisis. We are indeed sixteen free States to fifteen slave States, and numerically we have a majority of representatives in both Houses of Congress. So we had when the Missouri Compromise restriction was abrogated. You have no reliable majority in either House, unless you instruct, support, and maintain them at home. If you do this, there is an end to the extension of Slavery. If you do not, Slavery, which is now firmly planted on the coast of Mexico, and which extends upward to the border of Kansas, will cross that border, and fasten its outposts on the southern border of British America. Thus the free States will be shut out from the Pacific coast. Divided by this wall, the free States become imbecile, and Slavery grasps the dominion of the Republic. Dominion over this Republic, by whomever exercised, is dominion over the Continent and all its islands. Where will Freedom, impartial Freedom, find a refuge? Will it even find one in British America? Are you willing to be driven to find it there? If it cannot be maintained here, can it be secured there? Shall this be the inglorious end of the Republican system planted at Plymouth—this the inglorious end of the Republic delivered by Lafayette, organized by Hamilton, and consolidated by Washington?

Tell me not that these are exaggerations. Forbear such censures, until you can show me when or where I have sounded a false alarm, or exaggerated any one of the dangers through which, in the course of this long strife with the slaveholders, we have been passing.

I am indeed earnest! I have seen Slavery in the slave States, and Freedom in the free States; I have even seen both Slavery and Freedom in this State; I know too well the evils of the former, to be willing to spare any effort to prevent their return. The experience of New York tells the whole argument against Slavery Extension, the whole argument for Universal Freedom. Suppose that, fifty years ago, New York, like Virginia and Maryland, had clung to Slavery, where now would have been these three composite millions of freemen, the choice and flower of Europe and America? In that case, would superstition and false national pride have needed to organize a secret cabal, affiliated by unlawful oaths, to proscribe the exile and his children for their nativity or their conscience sake? Where would then have been the Erie Canal, the Genesee Valley Canal, the Oswego Canal, the Seneca and Cayuga Canal, the Crooked Lake Canal, the Chemung Canal, the Chenango Canal, the Black River Canal, the Champlain Canal—where the imperial New York Central Railroad, the Erie Railroad, and the Ogdensburgh Railroad, with their branches penetrating not only every inhabited district in this State, but every inhabited region also in adjacent States and in British America? Where would have been the Colleges, Academies, and, above all, the free common schools, yielding instruction to children of all sects and in all languages? Where the Asylums and other public charities, and, above all, that noble emigrant charity which crowns the State with such distinguished honor? Where these ten thousand churches and cathedrals, renewing on every recurring Sabbath day the marvel of Pentecost, when the sojourner from every land hears the gospel of Christ preached to him in his own tongue? Where would have been the steamers, the barges, brigs, and schooners, which crowd this harbor of Buffalo, bringing hither the productions of the Mississippi Valley and of the Gulf Coast, in exchange for the fabrics of the Atlantic Coast and of Europe, and of the teas and spices of Asia? Where the coasting vessels, the merchant ships, the clippers, the whale ships, and the ocean mail steamers, which are rapidly concentrating in our great seaport the Commerce of the World? Where the American Navy, at once the representative and champion of the cause of universal Republicanism? Where your inventors of steamboats, of electric telegraphs, and of planing machines—where your ingenious artisans—where your Artists—where your mighty Press, the *Courier and Enquirer*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, and even the *Herald* itself, defender of Slavery as it is? Where your twenty cities—and where, above all, the merry, laughing Agricultural Industry of native-born and exotic laborers, enlivening the whole broad landscape, from the Lake coast to the Ocean's side? Go, ask Virginia—go, ask even noble Maryland, expending as she is a giant's strength in the serpent's coils, to show you her people, canals, railroads, universities, schools, charities, commerce, cities, and cultivated acres. Her silence is your expressive answer.

Once more: Spaniards planted slave States in America; England planted not only slave States, but free ones. Spain planted twice as many as England, and cultivated them with more assiduous and maternal care. The Anglo-American free States are all of them strong and vigorous, and already overshadow the Continent. Europe regards them with respect and admiration. There is not one Spanish American State that is truly self-subsisting and independent. Sciolists talk of Anglo-Saxon blood. No nobler blood than the Iberian ever coursed through human veins. But the Spaniard planted only slave States. The Anglo-Saxon planted free ones.

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For the National Era.

THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER XXXIX.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.
[Concluded.]

To the Friends of American Liberty:

We have examined all the parts of the Constitution claimed in favor of Slavery, and have exposed the sophistries by which they have been pressed into that service. We have seen how they all repose on the falsehood of a historically legalized Slavery in the States—how the maxims of "strict construction," the rule of the Supreme Court, and all authorized rules of legal and constitutional exposition, applied honestly, would at once brush them aside. We have also noticed, that if they were all admitted in their full force, and allowed to mean what they are claimed to mean, they could interpose no obstacle to a constitutional abolition of Slavery by the Federal Government.

And, finally, we have looked into the pretensions of a *historical* construction of the Constitution in favor of Slavery, and seen the absurdity and the audacity of the pretension. So far from any "understandings" at variance with the preceding conclusions, we have proved that Virginia ratified the Constitution with a full "understanding" in accordance with them, namely, that the Constitution clothed Congress with "power to make all slaves free." So far from a historical "compromise" in favor of Slavery, to bring the slave States into "the Union," we have proved that they were *already* in "the Union," under a "compact" of an opposite character.

CHANGED POSITION OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

It will be perceived that our course of argument has demonstrated the illegality (and consequent unconstitutionality) of Slavery, as founded upon the only tenure that had ever been relied upon by the Southern courts, up to the time of our commencing this discussion, namely, that of "local, municipal, positive law." And it will be farther noticed, that the absence of such positive law has been amply attested by the leading statesmen and some of the eminent jurists of the South; which would seem to be conclusive of the whole matter.

But it is a very remarkable fact, that during the same time (about two years) that these letters of investigation have been in process of deliberate preparation and publication in the *National Era*, the leading statesmen of the South, its prominent editors, and, finally, the great mass of the Southern slaveholders, have been in process of shifting their legal basis of slave tenure, from that of "local, positive, municipal law," (where their own courts and the Federal courts had always placed it,) to that of natural and common law, on the same footing with the tenure of property in domestic animals and inanimate objects! It is true, that before this time some few of their jurists and statesmen had admitted the absence of positive laws creating Slavery—a circumstance which had incited and corroborated our historical inquiries. But these admissions seemed to have been inadvertent and casual, without seeming to have been accompanied with a consciousness of the magnitude of the concession, and without having suggested to the minds of those who had made it the necessity of casting about for some new basis for legalized slaveholding. A marked change soon became manifest. Whether the discussion of the subject among abolitionists helped to precipitate the change, or whether it was owing wholly to the new exigences and necessities of the slave power, growing out of its more aggressive attitude and policy, I will not undertake to determine. But the revolution, within about two years past, has been commenced and completed! The Southern claim of legalized Slavery has been transferred, so far as its legal basis is concerned, from "local, municipal law, confined to the local jurisdiction," to universal, natural, independent, common law!

Very manifestly, the public course, the settled policy, the every-day-reiterated claim of the slaveholders, rests exclusively, now, on the new basis. It has been so for some time. On no other basis can the new tactics concerning Territories be justified. On no other plea *is* it attempted to justify it. Slavery was to be pushed into the Territories, without positive local law, on the pretence of universal, natural, common law. And the legal basis of Slavery in the Territories had to be adjusted accordingly. On the same basis reposes the pending lawsuit of Virginia *vs.* New York, to reverse Judge Paine's decision liberating Mr. Lemmon's slaves. On the same basis rests the decision of Judge Kane. The proposed Federal legalization of the African slave trade, and consequent Federal protection of slaveholding in all the States, completes the programme, and follows of course! The Nebraska bill, over-riding the Missouri restriction, determined all the rest! Who would have believed a prediction of all this, two years ago? *But here we are!*

The unavoidable issue now is—a Federal Government protecting Slavery in all the States, or a Federal Government prohibiting Slavery in all the States. If this be "consolidation," there is no help for it. Here we are! The slavocrats have forced the alternative upon us. Let them abide by it, as they indeed must. If 350,000 slaveholders can outrage and overawe the country, with its twenty-four millions of inhabitants, the victory will be theirs. If not, they are to be defeated, and must yield the controversy.

The point reached by our discussion of "THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY," including its relation to the Constitution and the Federal Government, is precisely the point needed by the necessities of the times. If any other theory of the Constitution be admitted, it affords us no adequate basis of political action against Slavery, now and henceforward.

I will only add, that the course of policy marked by the slave power itself, indicates the true policy to be pursued by the friends of American Liberty.

As the one has repudiated compromise, so the other should repudiate compromise.

As the one claims and wields the national Government for the *support* of Slavery, so the other should claim and wield the National Government for the *abolition* of Slavery.

As the one fears no "consolidation" necessary to the support of *Slavery*, so the other should fear no consolidation necessary to the support of *Freedom*.

As the one knows no "State rights" in favor of Liberty, so the other should know no "State rights" in favor of Slavery.

As the one proclaims war upon Liberty north of 36° 30′, so the other should proclaim war upon Slavery south of 36° 30′.

As the one claims the same right of national protection in the Territories that it has formerly enjoyed in the slave States, so the other should claim that same right of national protection to Liberty in the slave States that is has formerly enjoyed in the Territories.

As the one claims national protection for Slavery in the free States, so the other should claim national protection for Freedom in the slave States.

As the one would make all freemen slaves, so the other should make all slaves freemen.

As the one repudiates municipal law as the basis of Slavery, and appeals to the decision of natural and common law, so the other should do the same.

As the one knows no politics but Slavery, so the other should know no politics but Freedom.

The true issue would then be joined, and the decision would be sure and speedy. "God speed the right!" WILLIAM GOODELL.

For the National Era.

TO PASSMORE WILLIAMSON, IN MOYAMENSING JAIL.

BY N. W. CAMPBELL.

Yes! there are many kinds of martyrdom—
The axe, the cord, the stake, perform their task
At once, and in their very sharpness prove
Most merciful. But who shall say that he
Who, lingering, drags the weary hours along,
Within a felon's prison—shut from all
The kindly intercourse of social life,
While waiting for his country's tardy justice
To break his bonds, and give him back to freedom—
Is not as much a martyr as the man
Whom tyranny condemns at once to death?

And wherefore art thou doomed to wait and bear
The legalized oppression of a Kane?
Why, righteous Abel, art thou now immured?
Because thy heart could feel for woman's wrongs,
And know that underneath her dusky skin
There dwelt a rational, immortal nature,
Not wantonly, at other's mandate, to be torn
From country, friends, and children, left behind.

Women of Pennsylvania! behold the man,
The champion of your sex, who dared to brave
The frowns of those, high in official station,
That stoop to Slavery's o'ertopping baseness,
And in this prosperous State, which we call *free*,
Would aid the woman-catcher in his work,
Set on the bloodhounds, and secure the prey!

Oh! that my words had power, thou truly brave,
To rend thy dungeon walls, and set thee free;
With choicest flowers I'd strew thy homeward path,
And thou shouldst enter that most sacred place,
To bless the babe as yet unseen by thee,
Amid the plaudits of admiring men,
And tears of women, weeping in their joy.

But cheer thee, suffering hero! As the blood
Of saints has given still new life and vigor
To the church, so every pang thou feelest
Will help to fill the cup of Freedom's wrongs,
Till from the brim o'erflowing there shall pour
A flood of holy indignation all around,
To sweep away the influence which would blight
Our much-loved country with that upas-death
In midst of life, the curse of Slavery.

But I forget how powerless is my voice—
A woman's voice—and I can only send
My cordial greetings to thy felon's cell—
A faint "God bless thee," and restore thee soon
To all thou lov'st, and give thy country wisdom
To write thy name among her choicest ones!

Maple Grove, Sept. 19, 1855.

For the National Era.

ALBANY MANUAL LABOR UNIVERSITY, O.

ALBANY, *September* 27, 1855.

The shareholders of the Albany Manual Labor University met in the boarding hall. The meeting was opened with a sermon, by William G. Kephart, from Psalms xciv, 16. In the absence of the Vice Presidents, Julius A. Bingham was called upon to preside, and J. Cable was chosen Secretary.

The following Committees were chosen: On enrollment—Messrs. Winn and Bingham; on business—Messrs. Winn, Slaughter, and Wm. S. Lewis; on nominations—Messrs. Bingham, Wm. Slaughter, Wilson, and Adeline T. Swift.

The meeting took a recess till two o'clock.

After recess, Harvey Graham was called to the chair. The Committee on Enrolment reported that two hundred and three shares were represented.

J. Cable moved that the sixty-three acres of land known as the Gore he laid off into a college compass and town lots, and that the Executive Board be empowered to sell the lots. This motion was unanimously adopted.

The Board was also empowered to sell other lands, reducing the farm to three hundred acres.

Resolved, That a chapel, including rooms for the accommodation of the male department, for recitation rooms, library, and philosophical and chemical apparatus, is indispensable to the success of our noble enterprise. The Executive Board are therefore instructed to erect such a building, as soon as funds can be procured to justify it.

Ordered, that shares of stock, redeemable in tuition, are to be received for one student only on each, until said shares are thus exhausted.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

Friday, at nine o'clock, the Association convened, and was opened with prayer, by Julius A. Bingham.

William Swift was called to preside.

The General Agent reported. The report was referred to a committee to audit, and was found correct. It is as follows:

GENERAL AGENT'S REPORT.

Cash received from all quarters, exclusive of what was paid to the Building Committee, $3,435.40; paid by order of the ex-Board, for building and general purposes, $2,967.51; in the hands of the General Agent, unappropriated, $467.89; received from new subscriptions, $2,412.50—of this amount, $1,600 are toward the endowment.

The Institution has notes and subscriptions for building purposes and contingent funds, $10,000; for scholarship and permanent funds, ($2, 000 of which draw interest,) $5,140; value of land, $14,000; value of buildings erected, $8,000; total, $39,552.50. Debts on the land, $8,262.50; balance in favor of the Institution, $31,290.

We are happy to state that the interest on the land has all been paid, and the building for the female department is nearly finished, without incurring any debt; and we hope soon to be able to erect a chapel, with rooms for the accommodation of the male department, recitation, library, and chemical apparatus.

J. CABLE, *Gen. Agent.*

Although the Superintendent of the Manual Labor Department has had to labor under great embarrassments, for the want of suitable buildings for workshops, &c., yet the report is highly satisfactory. It is as follows:

From Sept. 30, 1854, to Sept. 30, 1855.

Property sold and rent of land	$775.88
Property on hand	727.30
	$1,503.18
Money paid out, and liabilities	1,019.89
Balance in favor of the Institution	$483.29

JOHN SLAUGHTER, *Superintendent.*

The meeting took a recess till two o'clock.

After recess, the shareholders elected the following officers, to fill vacancies made by the Constitution:

Executive Board.—W. N. Hudson and Luke De Witt.

Trustees.—Salmon P. Chase, Dan. A. Payne, Catharine B. Cooley, J. A. Bingham, Beulah Burnett, D. M. Moore.

Secretary.—William S. Lewis.

Vice Presidents.—Salmon P. Chase, Edward Wade, Curtis Howe, John G. Fee.

General Agent.—J. Cable.

Mr. Slaughter offered the following, which passed:

Resolved, That the Secretary collect and record all the reports of students' labor, together with other statistical reports worthy of preservation.

The following, offered by Mr. Winn, was passed:

Resolved, That in our records and reports all titles to names shall be omitted.

The following, offered by Mr. S. Lewis, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in view of the mad schemes of the Slavery Propagandists, as witnessed in the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave Bill; the insane acts of the lawless, infuriated mob from Missouri, controlling the ballot-box of Kansas, constituting themselves into a Legislature for the purpose of imposing Slavery upon Kansas against the will of the people; the sanction given to these nefarious acts by the Executive; the despotic decision of Judge Kane, and the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the Williamson case—we are called upon to exert ourselves to establish schools and seminaries of learning that shall teach the fundamental principles of our Government and the rights of man.

Resolved, That the minutes be published in the Ohio *Columbian*, New York *Tribune*, and *National Era*.

Adjourned with prayer.

WILLIAM SWIFT, *President.*
J. CABLE, *Secretary.*

PROSPECTUS OF THE Ninth Volume of The National Era,

Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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